CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

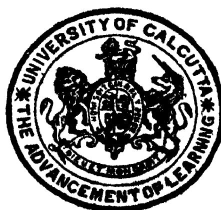
CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

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CONTENTS



ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION

The Origin and Character of Islamic Civilization.*

The word ' culture ' is derived from the cultivation of land, and the term ' civilization ' is born of civic, municipal life. Rooted in Greek, developing through Latin media, both these words point to the ultimate source of our Western speculations. ' Culture ' bears a popular character—a homely complexion; whereas ' civilization ' is a sum-total of cultural elements, capable of import and export. The modern Orient has ingeniously translated the word ' culture ' into Arabic. It is, indeed, a manifest borrowing from modern Western terminology. In the cultural language of Islam the word ' civilization ' has likewise been derived—centuries ago —from the Western, indeed from the Greek, vocabulary; and is intimately associated with the Greek conception of *polis*. Both history and philology establish that here is not a case of analogical development, but of direct importation, and that the Orient never knew the Greek *polis* as anything but foreign and extraneous. Unknown in the Orient is the free man in a free city. Thus the philological analysis leads us to a double conclusion : first, that Islamic civilization is woven of Western elements, and as such, is a mixed product; and secondly,

* Translated from the German of Prof. C. H. Becker.

that, in spite of its affinity with the Greek world, it is in character entirely different from Western civilization. Islamic civilization is Asiatized Hellenism. By Hellenism is not to be understood the Grecised and Orientalised civilization of the Roman Empire of the Cæsars, but the Hellenism that was moulded by Christian influences—Hellenism of the fifth and the sixth centuries. What distinguished the Hellenism of the fifth and the sixth from that of the first and the second centuries was that it was no longer a living, flowing thing, but a rigidly syncretistic system, made up of European and Oriental strands.

The early period of Byzantine history has not been thoroughly investigated—the sources, indeed, are scanty. Here in Greek, Syriac, Coptic. Syrian disguises, a spiritual world, complete by itself, confronts us—a spiritual world which may best be described as Christian Hellenism. In it the East and the West hold the scale tolerably even.

With the advent of Islam Asiatization sets in. The Arab 'Völkerwanderung' created fresh political frontiers.

In spite of differences between the Latin West and the Greco-Oriental East—the quondam world of Paganism—a Christian world constituted an intellectual unity. Though politically no longer a single whole—the people of western Asia and Africa had been yet of one thought and mind with the West; and, with the tie of a common faith, exchange of ideas between them was always possible. Now, they were cut off from the West.

A certain amount of intellectual and a great deal of commercial intercourse, indeed, continued; but the barrier lay in the fact of a new, great Asiatic World-Empire on the basis of Islam. The centre of gravity of the Caliph's empire lay in the East and, with the process of the Sun, moved more and more into inner Asia. True, Christian Hellenism lived on But, in course of time, it was Asiatized by the Asiatic peoples in precisely the same way as on Western soil it was Westernized by the entirely different genius of the Westerners.

The Arabs, the Persians, and the Turks evolved Islamic civilization from Christian Hellenism. Let us take the Arabs first. They did not, to be sure, create this civilization, as is popularly believed. A not inconsiderable civilization of their own the Arabs undoubtedly had. They had the ethics of blood-revenge—the art of poetry—great commerce—tendencies to town civilization—but their contribution to Islamic civilization was merely a contribution; for Islam did not take into account the fundamental sociological characteristics of the Arab people. The Arabs gave to the new structure their language, because the founders and the first rulers of the society were united by a common religious faith the Sacred Book of which happened to be in Arabic. Through the Qur'an important principles of the old Arab Law became the common property of the Islamic world, but the religion of Islam was not the creation of the Arabs. Only scientific materialism can regard Islam as the religion of the desert.

In scorn of and in ingratitude to Arabism the Prophet preached a Hellenistic culture-religion, with a

tinge of Hellenistic city-life. It is a matter of indifference whether you trace the inspiration to Judaism or to Christianity. The fact remains that the preaching of Mohamed only attained its full significance when, away from the religion-indifferent, booty-loving tribes of the desert, it was reduced to a system under Judeo-Christian clash and co-operation, and was substituted by peoples, entirely unlike the Arabs in matters religious, in the place of their inherited state-church.

There were the Christian peoples of Western Asia—brought up on Byzantine culture—and, in still greater measure, the Persians, whose views, regarding the connexion of State and Religion, gave its characteristic stamp to Islam in the days of the Caliphate of Baghdad —a stamp which Islam has not lost even to this day. And, indeed, this peculiar Persian stamp was impressed not only on the religion and the State of Islam but upon the entire course of its civilization. The distinctive religious character of Islamic civilization is not Arab but Persian. But, again, it would be misleading to scent everywhere the traces of Persian primacy in Islamic civilization. The Persian hypothesis rests on much the same sort of basis as 'the civilization of the Arabs.' We cannot adequately realize the shifting and mixing of peoples and individuals in the vast empire of the Caliph, or, with such shifting and mixing, the fusion of material creations and the welding-together of intellectual, artistic ideas. If Christian Hellenism was a mixed product, far removed from any particular national culture, the civilization of the Caliphate was the outcome of still more multifarious sources. And, verily, it developed into a unity merely because these material

and intellectual creations were kept well within the limits of a firmly-knit State. Out of an abundance of living national cultures and historical inheritances a new state-culture was slowly evolved. And, with justice, it bears the name of Islam; for, when the fabric of the State fell to pieces religion, as a spiritual framework, linked with the State, held together the entire cultural inheritance of Islam, and transmitted it far beyond the confines of the ancient Caliphate.

In the rise of Islamic civilization the Turks have but a modest share. It is confined to the individual efforts of their Savants and Statesmen. At first the Turko-Mongolian element asserted itself destructively, but afterwards a new tendency manifested itself in the Asiatic world.

The idea of the State was transformed—religion assumed a more austere form—and made many claims which had hitherto lain neglected. A new style arose and distant Central and Eastern Asia sent out their emissaries as far as the Mediterranean.

As for the Turks in particular—once more, with them, the struggle between the genuine East and Hellenism repeats itself. The Turkish empire becomes the heir of the Byzantines. The Turks, indeed, brought much more with them than the Arabs once did; and thus, above everything else, Islamic civilization, for long, became capable of transcending its barrier and going beyond its limits. It became, so to speak, capable of export, but it also felt the need of adjusting and adapting itself to existing conditions. No longer, as in the times of Arabism, did this adaptation cover well-nigh every sphere of human activity, but it limited

itself to spheres social and political. Only by such historical consideration can the exceptional cultural position of Constantinople in the Turkish Empire be rightly understood.

One last feature, which for the modern Islamic civilization of Western Asia has been of great moment, yet remains to be considered—the influence of French civilization. Its consideration helps us to an understanding of Western cultural influences on the East in general, as also to an understanding of the character of Islamic civilization in particular.

In the past Western ideas and institutions had, indeed, made their way into the Orient—Greek philosophy, Greek art, Greek State-system. But what was the result? Philosophy degenerated into scholasticism—and though Aristotelian trend of thought showed more vitality in the orthodox circles of the East than in our academic lecture halls, Hellas was dead. And, again, though we find stylistic traces of Greek art as an element everywhere in Islamic art, yet *Hellenism was, none the less, stifled in an Eastern embrace.* The Greek *polis* strove to conquer the East, but it perished in the old Oriental despotism. The East, true enough, accepted the results of Western civilization, but through such acceptances there arose something new—the East proved itself the stronger in the end.

Intellectually, the East appropriated new methods, new modes of thought and style; but in character it remained unaffected. Thus it is that the strongest transformation of Western ideas is perceptible in that chief sphere of popular activity—the idea of the State. Just

as the old Orient swallowed up Hellenic art, so did the Middle Ages and the new Orient swallow up the structures of the Crusading period and the rococo. Out of them something distinctly Oriental has emerged.

Thus we may follow the influences of Maupassant and Auguste Comte. They accepted the external forms of the French Parliament, but the Oriental character is in no way affected by them. The most interesting, perhaps, is the transformation of political ideas.

Midhat Pasha, in theory, accepts the idea of the citizenship of the State; but, in practice, the predominance of the Turks continues. As for the idea of nationality, it reveals itself in the form of a *Musalman nation*, *i.e.*, either in the form of Pan-Islamism or in the shape of a mystic Turanism. Despite European ideas and Western technique, the Orient is still far removed from us. The Oriental loves to dream of the golden days of the Caliphate. The entire difference becomes clear when we consider our attitude towards Gothicism. Wherein, then, consists the character of the East which defies European influences and which refuses to bend to them and actually transforms them in its own way?

With all timidity for rash generalization the Orient strikes us as something constituting a whole—a unity. We are concerned with this unity here, as it presents itself in the shape of Islam. But East Asianism offers strikingly similar features too.

Individual nations are, to be sure, differently constituted. National cultures of the Turks and Persians respectively are fundamentally different from each other, but in both cases their Islamic civilization is precisely

the same—however, the individual national genius may, at times, break through the overlying crust.

This civilization, however, could not have matured, if, originally, it had not been of an autochthonous spirituality, nor without it could it have continued so to-day. We are not talking here of national culture, but of the common Islamic civilizaion which we feel as something external to us.

The contrast may well be expressed by two typical expressions. To Westerners time is money—to the Eastern haste comes from the devil. Herein lies the fundamental problem—the inner attitude to work. Contemplative and active outlook compete with one another.

Not, indeed, that our inner orientation deserves unconditional precedence. We, Westerners lack the contemplative mood—that patient awaiting which, in so high a degree, belongs to Islam.

It is the subtle shades of emotions and tastes : problems of psychical equilibrium and inner judgment—that is to say, volitional moments—it is these which divide the East and the West; not so much questions of intelligence or rationalism.

Of intelligence and rationalism Islam has as much as we. Here our common master—the ancient Greek—reveals himself; but in those other spheres the Orient has retained its individuality. We will do her an injustice if we judge her by our standard. *Islamic civilization is naught but a fusion of ancient Greek intellectuality with Oriental contemplativeness.*

If that civilization conveys to us the impression of being petrified—it is due to the rationalization of fatalism which is common to all primitive peoples. To overcome fatalism is a question of education—not of character.

Important, nay decisive for the future of the Orient, will it be, if Islam protects the fertile swamp of its irrationalism from the spring-tide of European rationalism.

ISLAM AS A PROBLEM*

There is no necessity for the study of Islam to justify its existence. The history of Islam, for a long time past, has acquired towards the study of languages, spoken by the Muslims, the very same position as ancient history occupies in relation to classical philology.

It would be an extremely easy task to enumerate the various problems which the study of Islam raises, but the subject under discussion is not *one* of the Problems of Islam, but *Islam itself as a Problem.*

We use the word ' Islam ' in various senses. First, we understand by it a religion—both as originally taught by the Prophet and as subsequently moulded into a fundamentally different orthodox system; and yet again we understand by ' Islam ' the present-day popular religion of the Muslims of Asia and Africa.

Whether we think of the actual religious practices of the Turks or of the Negroes—whether we speak of a Ghazzali or of a Sudanese Mehdi—we simply use the term ' Islam.' Indeed, the less known about a people, the more apt are we to generalise.

Who, indeed, would venture—without making himself ridiculous—briefly to describe the existing Church of Abyssinia as ' Christianity?' Or even, without further explanation, speak of it in the same breath as Protestant Christianity?

Nor is this all—we designate by Islam one of the great historic world-empires, and the numerous indi-

* Translated from the German of Prof. C. H. Becker.

vidual States grown on its ruins; nay even the Muslim States of to-day. Further we include within it—not only the actual States—but a political theory as well—built upon constitutional or eschatological doctrines. And, finally, with the very same name of Islam we describe the entire civilization, including religion and State—a civilization which, despite all distances in space and time, does bear an impress of unity.

And, indeed, so closely knit are religion, state and civilization in Islam, that the large collection of races of such differing racial histories and traditions as the Aryans, the Semites, the Negroes, are all set down under the all-embracing name of Muslims.

The deeper we enter into this question the more differences shall we discover. Thus it is not always easy precisely to define what, in each particular case, is meant by Islam.

But, notwithstanding all keenness and circumspection in abstract analysis, even the specialist cannot but use the simple, common term Islam.

Is he jusified in doing so? Can all the manifold aspects referred to, be put together, without contradiction, under the general term 'Islam,' which essentially denotes a religion?

By speaking about the Problems of Islam, as such, our attitude has been *a priori* fixed.

In analysing the word 'Islam' we visualize the main factors which, in their harmonious co-operation, have produced the impression of Islam as a unity. As already stated, they are the common faith, the common political ideal, the common civilization—despite local differences—perceptible in the ideal, and, in certain

measure, in practice. That religion is the uniting bond of these factors, and that politics and civilization owe their existence to religion, is a proposition which cannot be questioned.

At present, at least, Islamic religion is a powerful uniting bond, welding the centrifugal national forces into a great whole. When the Wangindo*—in German East-Africa—accepts Islam, he gives Islam henceforth, and not the Wangindo, as his tribe.

The Arab fraternizes with the negro convert and, in the religious centre, Mekka, all these threads meet. Especially as against Christian Europe do the Mohammedans of the whole world feel as a unity.

As religion imparts a more or less uniform character to daily life, we may speak of Islamic civilization as a unity. This fact, undeniable at present, has made the understanding of the historical development of Islam particularly difficult.

What assigns to religion, mainly, if not exclusively, the credit of having evolved a uniform Islamic civilization, is the fact that, with Muslims, religion is an all-powerful factor to-day and furthermore, the entire historical phenomenon of Islam goes back to its religious founder.

To this must be added the ecclesiastical point of view (an inheritance to us from the Middle Ages), which regards Islam even now as *Communis Opinio.* The Middle Ages and the period immediately succeeding the Middle Ages saw in Islam primarily a hostile religion,

* Missions—Blätter, XIII, Part 9, p. 130 (Organ der St. Benediktus-Missions-Genossenchaft zu St. Ottilien).

which not only erected a barrier to the expansion of Christianity, but which even actually trespassed upon its territorial possessions. The new religion—so they contended—and so they explained its historical development—inspired enthusiasm in the Arabs, and the need of world-conversion urged them on and on. They spread their religion with the sword. Mohamed was not only Prophet but also Statesman. This union engendered the idea of a world-empire and, in the new empire, the Arab culture, in alliance with the Islamic religion, created an Arab-Islamic civilization. However much the Pre-Islamic ideas and institutions may survive—religion was not only the *Primum Movens* but it was actually the creator and the organizer of the new civilization, and from religion, as from a fountain-head, the entire later development flowed.

Religion thus inevitably set the seal of unity on Islamic civilization. Hence the conception of the unity of Islamic civilization!

Embued with a false notion of the development of Christianity, European writers found in Arab authorities a confirmation of their own opinion regarding the development of Islam; for, like them, the Arab authorities were entirely clerically-minded. They, too, looked upon Islam as an entire creation of Mohamed and the orthodox Caliphs, and placed State and society, science and economics under the hegemony of a religious formula. In the flower garden of theories if a wild branch, here and there, shot forth, it was soon lopped off as an unnatural growth.

By religion has the world of Islam been ruled in the past, and it is so ruled to-day, at least in theory.

Not until the last decades—in any case long after the publication of *Alfred Von Kremer's* admirable *Kulturgeschichte*—does modern criticism begin.* Gradually and slowly, indeed, has the enquiry stepped out of the groove of Islamic tradition, and we have learnt to distinguish between Law and Politics; Religion and Life; Theory and Practice. In the conflict between the demands of religion and the claims of popular customs we have seen the latter triumph, and, in countless instances, we have noticed that religion is naught but a purely literary form. We have observed religious laws developing, not in consonance with, but in opposition to, practice.† Thus the conclusion is borne in upon us that the gift of the founder of the Arab world-empire was not so much religion as world-dominion to the Arabs.

Are not all these matters food for thought? In the face of these facts do not our traditional views of the rôle which religion has played, as a dominant element, stand in need of correction?

The problem is infinitely more complex than it seems at first sight. No one, for one moment, doubts that Islam owes its rise to a religious impulse. But between the religious-mindedness of Mohamed and the Pan-Islamic tendencies of to-day there is a gulf which, as a rule, the lay mind lightly bridges over.

How then, does the religious idea of the founder overcome all obstacles? And how, again, has the world-embracing unity of Islamic civilization (in which reli-

* I have translated the major portion of this book into English. Khuda Bukhsh, *Orient under the Caliphs* (Calcutta University Press) and *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, Trübner (1926).

† Aghnides, Introduction to Mohamedan Law, pp. 106, 155. *Tr.*

gion actually dominates) developed from the religious teachings of the Prophet?

Even ridding ourselves of inherited views we will, indeed, affirm the importance of religion in Islamic civilization—maintaining, however, that in the evolution of that civilization the *determination to rule* and the *advantages arising from rapid economic development* were far more effective than religion.

Thus on soil manured and prepared by other agencies Islam thrives and flourishes.

The problem of Islam, then, resolves itself into the question : How has the unity of Islamic civilization come about and what part has religion played in its development?

Let us begin with an analysis of the expansion of Islam as a religion. Should we assume that the expansion of religion was due exclusively, or indeed, mainly, to religious zeal—the need for proselytism? In the Mekkan period this, doubtless, was the case. I cannot agree with the historian who sees in Mohamed a politician from the very outset who, according to political opportunism, wavered to and fro, between Christianity and Heathenism.*

Only, with success, did the politician awake in Mohamed.

Patience and renunciation such as Mohamed displayed and passed through in Mekka cannot be ascribed to political ambition, but to a deep, inner, overpowering religious conviction. In the old Suras of the Qur'an not an imaginative schemer, but an honest enthusiast, speaks out.

* Hugo Winckler, Arabisch-Semitish-Orientalich, 1901, pp. 52 *et seq.*

But any one who knows the Oriental, and the Arabs in particular, knows how piety and selfishness, transcendent speculation and material interests dwell side by side in their souls. Mohamed wanted the Mekkans to share in his religious experiences. The idea of an Islamic world-empire comes in, if it comes in *consciously* at all, in the last years of his life. We, not unlike our authorities, judge these things in the light of subsequent events. The beginnings of Islam, thus, are purely religious.

From the time of the change of residence to Medina there comes, unconsciously, for Mohamed and his companions (all the more perceptible to the critic of the motive of their actions), the thought of political power as a stimulus alongside of religion. Henceforward the watchword is no longer conversion to the religion of Allah, but subjection to his Prophet.

In very few instances, *even* with those nearest home, were conversions to Islam genuine, that is to say, born of real religious conviction. The conversion of tribes *en masse* was certainly political. Thus it is apparent that the expansion of Islam as a religion is closely associated with the ascendancy of Medina.

And, to be sure, even before Islam had crossed the frontier of Arabia; out of a religious an essentially political movement had come into being. But so long as Islam is confined to Arabia, the members of the New State—at least most of them—accept its religion—however outward and formal that acceptance may have been.

This position of affairs completely alters the moment this young State subjugates the ancient civilizations of Western Asia and North Africa. Then *sharply and clearly the expansion of Islam as a State separates itself*

from that of Islam as a religion: for the old fairy tale that the Arabs imposed their religion on Western Asia with the sword—that staple argument of Christian polemics—need not any longer be discussed or refuted.

Everywhere were the subject-races allowed freedom of worship—only *politically* they were placed under the sovereignty of the Arabo-Islamic State. This fact shows better than anything else that Islam no longer *then* was that religion of the *Mekkan* Prophet which was whole-heartedly intent upon extension and diffusion as a faith.

This may have been a political compromise, but it is none the less an infallible indication of the fact that the Arab national element preponderates over the universal religious element of the Prophet.

Exceptional cases apart, the Arabs never really thought of converting the subject-races. Like the early Colonisers they wanted to constitute themselves an upper stratum with a mass of paying helots under them. *Of the State the Arab*—who, after the fashion of modern citizenship, had acquired the character of a Muslim—*was the only citizen*. In point of fact and of time, the political conquest of Western Asia is sharply divided from its Islamization. Between the two there lie one to two, nay, three centuries.

For an understanding of our subject it is necessary that we should enter into a separate enquiry into these two striking historical processes in the development of Islamic civilization as a unity.

From what has been said the expansion of Islam, as a State, cannot be *mainly* ascribed to religious enthusiasm. The one idea which was supposed to explain the remodelling of the Orient during the 7th century, was

the Idea of a 'Völkerwanderung,' and in this light were the victorious campaigns of the Arabs regarded. Economic reasons were assigned by some, but the chief driving force in this upheaval, according to others, was religion.

It is the undeniable merit of Hugo Winckler to have recognized the fact of the Arab 'Völkerwanderung' in its true historic perspective and significance. Leone Caetani* has built upon Winckler's suggestions his ingenious—though very contentious—theory of *inaridimento.* This theory looks upon the Arab migration which poured forth into the neighbouring lands from Arabia—the seat of the Semites—as the last great Semitic migration. The new strain in this theory is that it sets down this migration—like all others—to a change of climate—extending over thousands of years—and to gradual desiccation of the land. Thus, in this light, hunger and not religious enthusiasm, was what drove the Arabs beyond the Arabian frontier, as was the case with the alleged Semitic migrations of antiquity some thousand years before.

I entirely subscribe to this theory, for it is well-authenticated by historical facts. For centuries before Mohamed Arabia is in a state of unrest. South Arabians settle down in the north. The frontier tribes roll over into the civilized lands around. Indeed there is no peace in Arabia since the Arabs first step beyond their frontier. We have historically attested information of the economic set-back of the country, with positive proof of want of water-supply. Arabia, as its old architecture and as information drawn from classical sources show, was in a state of retrogression for centuries.

* Annali dell' Islam, IIa. H. 12, 105-171.

We should not, of course, assume that this *inaridimento* is effected in one or two millennia. It is a question of thousands of years. But through causes not yet fully known—such as changes in sea-currents or deforestation and others—climatic changes may have taken place at a more rapid rate. Nor must we forget that nations do not always instantly respond to these changes. Perhaps the Arabs would have remained to-day undisturbed, within the Arabic peninsula, had they not found powerful support in the young militant Islam, or had the conditions in Persia and Byzantium been less favourable to conquest.

If religion played, as we have shown, a subordinate role, the strongest motive for this colossal popular movement was naught else but economic. If Arabia had been economically sound, or if the Arabs had lived in well-assured affluence, even the prospect of booty, perhaps, would not have lured them away from their homes.

Had a powerful religious enthusiasm been the propelling cause of this 'Völkerwanderung,' the young Islam would then have shown itself in very different colours, from what it actually did, outside Arabia.

In the expansion of Islam the driving force, then, is economic. But economic reasons by themselves have never established, nor will they ever establish, a world-empire. The Arab tribes were in a state of flux and, in their isolation, what good were they against the military powers at the frontiers? The tribal jealousy made common cause a sheer impossibility. At this stage Islam comes in. Not that Islam succeeds in permanently hushing old tribal quarrels into Islamic brotherhood. We know, indeed, that acuter than ever became in Islam

the contrast between the South and the North Arabian tribes; but when Mohamed drew the tribes to his banner, as we have already shown, political ambition had long overshadowed religious zeal. But be it noted that only religion made the political organization of the Prophet possible. Out of the community grew the State. It was, indeed, not the community but the State which used the Arab 'Völkerwanderung,' which originated independently of it, for its political ends.

Look at the men who founded the Arab world-empire. A Khalid b. Walid, and an Amr b. al-As were by nature conquerors and rulers of men. They did not worry about religion. In fact they made use of it. Nor did they, at the time, shrink from a Machiavellian policy. Abdullah b. Omar, and religious natures such as his, have not in the least contributed to the expansion of the Islamic Empire. The Medinite government, with its generals, organised the movement, which soon, however, grew over their heads. We can easily understand how startled the central government was by its own successes. We also realize how, with an unerring political instinct, it succeeded in setting a limit to the predatory instincts of the tribes, and in gradually establishing a net-work of colonies and settled administration in conquered countries.*

The uniting Shibboleth is, indeed, Islam, but in the sense of the world-dominion of the Arabs.

Like all great ideas of the Orientals—this national aspiration, too, was deeply tinged with religion. But the discriminating critic sees the contrast between *Nationalism* and *Religion* in the view they took of con-

* Annali dell' Islam, III, *passim*.

versions to Islam. Conversion, then, was only possible or practicable through affiliation into the Arab tribal union. The national element won the day.

Not to the zeal for conversion—not to the burning words of an inspired Prophet—but to sheer economic necessity, to the unrest of the tribes—must we point as the causes which urged the Arabs on to a world-mission.

The union of a happy Shibboleth with political ambition, sustained by ardent and powerful personalities, accounts for their amazing successes. Such is the genesis of the Islamic world-empire!

How, then, *despite the difficulties alluded to, was the Islamization of the subject-races effected?*

The sword being ruled out of consideration—let us first direct our attention to the question of intensive missionary activities. This is the subject of an elaborate book (unfortunately little known), 'The Preaching of Islam' by T. W. Arnold, who ascribes the conversions chiefly to the "unremitted labours of Muslim missionaries" (p. 3). He deplores that so little is known on this score. The want of information is, indeed, not surprising; for *then* Islam knew not the precept "Go forward and teach the world." Not to a set-purpose was its diffusion due; it was a mere consequence of the emigration of Muslim population. The missionary activity of old Islam is scarcely distinguishable from that of modern times—only it was attended with greater difficulties.

Expansion of the Islamic faith meant multiplication of the ruling class, and a corresponding diminution of the tax-paying subjects. This was not to the interest of the Government and the Arab Overlords. From the

very beginning idealists there were to whom the exchequer was a matter of indifference, but what importance had they in a State built upon the contrast between Muslims and Non-Muslims?

How little did the Arabs, in the beginning, take conversions into account, is manifest from the fact that they had to transform the entire economic basis of their financial system when conversion in large masses began.

And, indeed, the Arab State carried the germ of decline and fall within its bosom in so far as it did not peremptorily forbid the conversion of the non-Arabs to Islam. For even when, by the mere outward acceptance of a religious faith, *the non-Arabs ruled*—how could they *really*, as such, pass over, as equals, into the circle of the full-blooded Arab rulers? The social distinction between them was no longer possible or conceivable. But a general prohibition against conversion would have been at variance with the spirit of Islam, which shut its door against none. Thus the idea of a universal religion shattered the foundation of the nationality of the State—originally identical with this religion.

It speaks for the strength of the State and the lack of a religious propaganda that this result did not straightway show itself within the first decade.

They realised when it was too late that expansion of Islam, as a religion, spelled disintegration of the State. Immediately after the conquest, some thousands accepted Islam, particularly the town-folk; for they were eager, as speedily as possible, to be absorbed into the ruling class. So long as the toiling millions remained unconverted, this accession of strength was wholly welcome to the Arabs for purposes economic and military. Nor did the upper classes of the subject-race, fail to see their gain

in as close an alliance as possible with the Arabs. In these circles there were doubtless numerous religious discussions between Christians and Muslims. Of them the writings of John of Damascus give us a glimpse. But this free intercourse did not contribute much to the actual diffusion of Islam.

The missionary activity only becomes effective when it passes out of the more or less religiously indifferent Arabs into the hands of the newly converted Aramaeans who, in matters religious, were very differently schooled from the Arabs.

To this we shall return later. Much stronger than missionary preaching were the economic advantages which dangled before the neo-converts. As a *Moula* such a convert acquired Arab citizenship. He was relieved of the heavy tributary-tax. He was permitted to participate in many of the advantages of town-life. In some measure, at least, he shared the social privileges of the Arabs. Conversion, thus, was not too great a sacrifice, after all. Moreover, the Islam of those days—anterior to the development of dogmatics—was not so very unlike Christianity. It seemed more like a new sect than a new religion. Added to these was a certain reaction of the Semitic mind against the thoroughly Hellenised Christianity of the time.

And was not Islam—so they argued—the religion of the ruling class, whom God Himself had helped on to victory?

In these circumstances, feeble, then, was the spiritual resistance against obvious, palpable, material gains.

And thus the economic considerations—with their strong forceful appeal—had their way.

It speaks very much for the strength of religious inertia—possibly it is only a case of want of sufficient accurate information—that it took more than half-a-century before conversions to Islam began to affect the balancing of the budget. Already under the great Al-Hajjaj, remedy was sought against the disastrous consequences of the expansion of Islam as a religion. The last decade of the Omayyad rule is full of measures seeking to harmonize the increasing Islamization with State-principle and policy. This led, eventually, to a great reform in the principles of taxation. Of this reform we know only an outline.*

Henceforth acceptance of Islam did not mean freedom from taxes, and but only a partial social equality with the Arabs.

Islamization, on a grand scale, only began when the Arab State-principle ceased, in the main to be operative, and when conditions making for social adjustment, according to the principle of nationality, ended. These changes took place in the first century of the Abbasid rule, and were brought forth by multifarious causes.

Most *important of all was the material and intellectual superiority of the subject-races*—a superiority which became more and more manifest day by day. Till then the Arabs had congregated in camps, away from the subject-races, and had played the role of grand seigneurs!

But when fresh and yet fresher batches came in from Arabia into the provinces—when wars ceased—when the Arabs, instead of being State pensioners, had to earn their living—and when, finally into their caste

* Wellhausen, Das Arabische Reich, p. 297; Becker, Boiträge Zur Geschichte Aegyptens, p. 81; Papyri Schott Rainhardt, 39 sq.

the ever-growing circle of the *Maulas* broke in, they had nothing to put forward as against the overwhelming superiority of the subject-races.

They then accommodated themselves to them; whereas in the beginning they let them alone, they ended by becoming entirely dependent upon them. Such was the case both in the country and in the town. After the Arabs had become landowners, peasants, and artisans, they became economically dependent, or, at all events, found themselves on a footing of equality with the clever neo-converts. Henceforward the preservation of their prerogatives became more and more difficult.

This was the case both in the economic and intellectual spheres. The Aramaeans, the Greeks, and the Persians were so infinitely superior to the Arabs in culture and tradition, that they regarded them as naught but rude and slovenly barbarians, who, only with difficulty, could adapt themselves to the refined culture of Western Asia.*

To the anti-Arab reaction the Arab really had no answer—no culture or learning of equal worth to show—nothing to urge or put forward save his religion. It was religion, indeed, which secured him his importance, and upon religion even the indifferent laid an emphasis!

The religious nimbus was the one thing which could not be taken away from him.

The ascendancy of the Arabs, however, would not have so quickly succumbed to the cultural influences of the subject-races had the head of the State firmly upheld

* *Cf.* Goldziher, Muhammedanische Studien, I, 14 sqq. (see the passage from the *Iqd*, relating to the subject, in Vol. I).

the aristocratic principle of the Arab State. But even the Government—to be effective—had to adapt itself to the political views of the majority of its subjects, which responded, to a large extent, to individual ambition. Even in Omayyad times we see its beginnings, but, under the Abbasids, the old Oriental despotism—with its deification of rulers, its paraphernalia of court etiquette, its exploiting instruments—the instruments of Bureaucracy—and its institution of the Slave Body-guards—is fully developed, or more correctly speaking, is fully restored. Thus the prerogative of the Arabs even for the headship of the State becomes intolerable, and thus the *old Oriental-State system swallows up the Aristocratic-State of the Arabs.*

Henceforth there is no longer a ruling class over subject-races, but master over mere servants of equal rank. *The process of social levelling is thus completed.* The servants naturally hasten to accept the religion of their master, or adopt it by merger into the quondam upper stratum. In this way the language of the Arabs spread, and with it their religion.

Now conversion proceeds at a quicker pace. The missionary activity stands not to the credit of the Arabs—for they lacked the missionary impulse for conversion of the subject-races—but to that of the neo-converts and their descendants. These, indeed, had a very different tradition from the Arabs.

As former Christians they knew that ecclesiasticism and history are full of evidence of the role which religious questions played among the Aramaeans. Equally familiar were the Persians with the ideas of a State-Church and the omnipresence of religion.

With the restoration of the Despotic-State system of the Chosroes there came in the idea of State-clericalism—an idea, which, in spite of all their religious superiority, was wholly foreign to the Arabs.*

Now, conversion of the heathen was to the interest of the head of the State—unlike what it had been in the Arab Empire. And the ruler found support in quite a new class of men (who were not available in the beginning of the Arab period)—namely, in the theologians, the jurists, the dogmatists, in short, in the learned in the scriptures—to avoid the misleading term clergy.

Animated by religious zeal, these people could proceed on the basis of social equality, and thus act towards the subject-races in a very different spirit from that of the Arab rulers of the earlier times, who only accepted them, in their midst, with extreme reluctance. In the Abbasid period the glory of the pious consisted in the number of converts that they had made.† This fact proves that they regarded ' conversion ' as a meritorious act. In these cimcumstances Islamization, as may be imagined, went on at a very rapid speed. Already, in the third and the fourth century of the Hegira, it had attained the extent shown by the present-day Orient.

In later times expansion of Islam as a religion was doubtless due to religious conviction—just as it was in the Mekkan days of the Prophet. In the intervening period, however, economic and political forces operated,

* Goldziher, *Islamisme et Parsisme* (*Revue de l'histoire des religions*, 43, 1901, pp. 1 (*et seq.*). (This paper has been translated into English by G. K. Nariman in his Persia and Parsis, Part I, Bombay, 1925. *Tr.*)

† Arnold, Preaching of Islam, 65.

if not exclusively, at all events far more powerfully than proselytizing zeal.

Thus the modern Orient gradually accepted Islam.

Does this fact explain the religious unity of Islamic civilization? Certainly not! To say that, would be to mistake cause for effect.

It is not Islam as a religion that has produced the uniform civilization, but it is the uniform civilization of the Caliphate—the resultant of diverse causes—which explains the development and the victorious advance of Islam as a religion up to the present time.

The real issue is obscured by the fable of 'Arab culture' and its victorious course. The Arabs are said to be the creators of the civilization of the Caliphate, and there are people who even credit the Arabs with the glories of Alhambra and the splendour of the Mamluk architecture. This is a complete misconception. The philological view of history is quite as erroneous as the theological one, just refuted. Because the Islamic era begins with Arab migration—because Western Asia, since the Caliphate, speaks Arabic—because its older literary monuments are in Arabic—the civilization is set down as Arab civilization. From what has been said, we can see how little Arab there was in it; this will appear clearer than ever from the sequel.

Where, indeed, do we have anything typically Arab in the culture of the Caliphate? In the State? Certainly, at the outset, but, we have just shown that the Arabs were unable to retain their form of Government even during the golden period of the Caliphate.

In administration? It was not the wisdom of the first Caliphs, but the Byzantine and Persian Bureaucracy, that fashioned the Arab administration.

And precisely as in the administration so in domains material and intellectual. Does not even the Arab religion show in its dogmatic texture the impress of Christian controversies, of neo-Platonism, of Indian mysticism? Are not philosophy and natural sciences borrowed from the Greeks—architectural styles from the Byzantine and Persians—the art of historical writing from the Persians, etc., etc.?

True, in poetry, and particularly in certain branches of law—such as inheritance, marriage and others—the civilization of the Islamic world does bear a strong Arab colour. But, even in law and in the precepts of the Qur'an, naught save the old practices—obtaining in the higher circles of Arabia for a century—have been adopted and retained. A large part of the casuistry comes from quite another source.

And is it not exceedingly characteristic that of the 'roots of Jurisprudence' (Usul-al-Fiqh)—which are divided into sources and principles—the sources only are Arab; the principles, mere borrowings from the existing civilizations? Thus there can be no talk of more than a mere Arab admixture in Islamic civilization. What we are inclined to think as most specifically Arab— as for instance, the great *Adab* and *Hadith*—are really not Arab at all, but Western-Asiatic. What, at best, can be claimed for them is that they contain elements common to the Arabs, but, more frequently than not, they are out and out *un-Arab*.

We are only deceived by the literary form which justifies every maxim, every action of daily life, by the example of the Prophet.

The Arabs simply accommodated themselves to the civilization they found in existence. But how did this come about? The explanation of the unity of Islamic civilization lies essentially in the world-historic fact of Hellenism. It sounds strange that, without Alexander the Great, there would have been no Islamic civilization.*

Our knowledge of the influence of Hellenism in India and in Central Asia gives us a fairly accurate idea of the strength of the fusion of culture in Western Asia during the period of the Diadochi. I will not venture to discuss† the question whether the so-called 'old Oriental Civilization' was quite as universal as the Islamic Civilization; but striking is the powerful unity of the Western Asiatic Civilization after the time of the Diadochi.

Indeed, the separation into two Empires—the Roman and the Parthian—as later, into the Byzantine and the Sassanid—led afresh to a great cleavage. The Roman Orient naturally received a strong Western colour and complexion; while, in the East, Hellenism was lost more and more in Asianism.

But from the third century of the Christian era—nay even earlier still—we observe a steady Asiatization of the Roman Orient and a growing adaptation of the Byzantine to the Sassanid model.

* Walker, Greek History, 93-95. *Tr.*

† Thesis of Hugo Winckler.

We stand here face to face with a great movement—reacting on Hellenism in Asia and on the Roman world-empire. The frontier between the East and the West becomes more and more unstable. Even the political frame-work in the end totters to its foundation in the continual wars between Persia and Byzantium. The campaigns of Khosroes II and Heraclius have, in their own way, the same significance as those of Alexander the Great—at least as regards the restoration of a uniform, though a mixed civilization.

In Aramaic Christianity* we have the completest manifestation of the variegated cultural mixture of Western Asia. Not merely in its vocabulary, but in its entire phraseology, we notice a rare mixture of the Semitic, Greek, and Persian elements. Their Church organization also formed, so to speak, an important bridge over which the gulf, interposed by political barriers, was easily crossed for matters cultural

Despite countless foreign influences and considerable intermingling of races, the Arabs constituted an ethnic unity which likewise reacted upon external influences.

It is well-known that the Arab conquest only met with serious resistance where it encountered national, indigenous forces, such as in Persia and North Africa.

We know from the researches of Fraenkel and Nöldeke † how dependent the Arabs were in Pre-Islamic times on Aramaic Civilization. After the conquest of Western Asia things continued as before—only the Aramaic Civilization was accepted *in extenso;* nay, it was continued and developed. Of a certain purely Arab

* Becker, Christianity and Islam, pp. 42 *et seq.* (Eng. *Tr.*)

† Fraenkel, Die Aramäischen Fremdworter im Arabischen.

impress we have already spoken. But we would form a very wrong impression of Islamic civilization were we simply to put it down as Aramaic *plus* Arab. For the earliest times it is so. In fact, the most important basis of Islamic Civilization is Aramaic, but only a basis. Islamic civilization is a further development of the Aramaic, and in the same direction in which the Aramaic Civilization had developed up to the seventh century.

In the last century before Mohamed the development of Western Asia lay more and more in its Asiatization. The centre of gravity of the dominating civilization shifts more and more from the Mediterranean to inner Asia. This process *continues uninterrupted in the Islamic Empire.* The explanation is obvious. It lies not in the Religion of Islam but in the world-historic fact of the State-unity of Western Asia.

Despite political divisions—despite the political gravitation of Western Asia towards the West—a cultural unity had hitherto developed. Now, suddenly, vast provinces, with the Persian Empire, were welded into a unity. This position of affairs, while checking the inflow of Roman and Greek, removed all barriers against Asiatic influences. This historic aspect was, indeed, neither apparent to the Arabs nor to the Arameans. Thus, during the whole of the Omayyad period, even the capital continued to remain on the edge of the Empire.

To fortuitous causes and to the importance of the Arab element in the beginning Damascus owed its importance. But, during the ascendancy of Damascus, the economic and cultural superiority of Iraq became

more and more unmistakable, and the transfer of the capital to Baghdad was the clearest proof of this inevitability of the development indicated above. Henceforth the Caliphate is naught but a continuation of Chosroism, on a broader political basis.

Thus it is but natural that the civilization of the Caliphate should show more and mere distinct Persian traits. Nor is it surprising that in its historic development it should also come under the influences of Central Asia, Turkistan, nay, even China.

The civilization of the Caliphate is not merely Aramaic nor yet purely Persian, but, all this notwithstanding, it is a clearly circumscribed unity based upon a unit-State.

And, as this State was an Islamic State, we are justified in speaking of the Islamic civilization.

Consider, now, the cultural consequences of this unit-State. I have often emphasised in my earlier works how much everything among the Arabs remained as it had been for ages. No less importance must be attached to the fact of political unity, which, despite local independence, effected a great and increasing fusion.

This happened first in spheres economic. The old customs-barriers remained, but trade—that great distributor of culture—now penetrated into quite other regions. The old exchange marts, on the former frontiers, henceforth became transit-stations. Merchants merely paid tolls, and proceeded. To this practice refers the expression, so often used in traditions: *Marra bil-'āshir*.

With the development of commerce grew capitalistic enterprises, involving immense speculations, and

huge undertakings which, like a network, covered the whole empire in the golden days of the Caliphate.

Above all, by the extension of the local form of worship to the entire empire, the State itself developed a cultural stir and ferment such as was simply unthinkable before the establishment of the Caliphate.

For details I refer the reader to Ernst Herzfeld,* with whom I entirely concur.

Herzfeld has shown in the Origin of Islamic Art, how powerfully economic forces have promoted the unity of Islamic civilization. And precisely the same is the case in the sphere spiritual. Here, however, the interchange of ideas does not begin until economic and political forces have had their effect. The new religious unity then serves as a powerful cement between the self-subsisting independent races included in the new State.

Like the political dividing wall, that of religion too—powerful in the past—now totters to its foundation.

Once Islam as a religion attains to power such as we have described, and assimilates the entire spiritual heritage of the earlier religions, ' the search after tradition ' (*Talab-al-Hadith*), as Goldziher shows, becomes an exceedingly important factor in the establishment of a new Islamized spiritual unity.

From the Atlantic Ocean to China a uniform religious learning—leavened by Aristotelian theories—fused with other spiritual inheritances—spreads within and even beyond the empire—as far as Lob-Nor and Lake Tsad.

A special result of the State-unit was that countries outside the sphere of Aramaic civilization, *e.g.*, Persia,

* See Islam, 1, p. 60.

Egypt, Africa—now contribute their share to this unity. Even when these countries part with the Caliphate and become separated as they were before, an ideal unity and exchange of thought still continue—although countries like Spain and Iran show a strong impress of their own.

Thus from the Aramaic sea—with the powerful confluence of manifold tributaries—originated the great ocean of Islamic civilization.

Now begins the religious interpenetration, which in course of development, becomes the characteristics of this new unity. I need not repeat what I have already said about the expansion of Islamic religion. The preaching of Mohamed is not the only cause of this clericalization. It is connected with many other older tendencies—with Christian clericalism and the Persian State-Church. The victory of the *Khilafat* of the Abbasids over the *kingship* of the Omayyads was not merely a victory of the religious idea of Mohamed over the temporal tendencies of the Mekkan aristocracy, but it was, at the same time, the victory of the Persian and Christian State-Church. Indeed, it was the victory of the very ancient religious conception of the old Orient over the religious indifference of the purely worldly empire of the Arabs. The name of Islam remains, but its contents are entirely different.

Now Islam becomes an amalgam of religion, State-ideal, and civilization—capable of a world-mission.

Although, in later times, State-Churches, on territorial bases, arise, such as the Persian Shia'ism; although separate rites and sects come into being and separatistic and atavistic tendencies manifest themselves in the creation of religious orders; although the far-

flung lands of Chinese Islam are unable to resist the overwhelming surrounding influences of national culture—yet the *one outstanding fact of a great Islamic unity* stands out in bold relief—becoming more and more pronounced and emphatic as against advancing Europe.

This unity presents itself to us in the powerful rules of conduct of the *Shariah.*

It is now interesting to see how the religion which owed its expansion to forces already mentioned continues, nay even augments in strength, when the forces that brought it to the fore-front have paled and faded.

Out of the unit-State was evolved the *ideal* of the unit-State. It has been generally assumed that this ideal was evolved from real or hypothetical conditions prevailing in the golden age of the orthodox Caliphs. This view I reject. The features ascribed to the orthodox Caliphs are mere borrowings from the Caliphate of the Omayyads and the Abbasids. But it will be readily conceded that these views, developing in opposition to the Omayyads, were moulded into shape under the tutelage of the Abbasids, who identified themselves with the *régime* of the orthodox Caliphs. It was the ideal of the unit-State which compelled the later Sultans to receive investiture from the shadowy Caliphs. After the early days of Islam religious ideals are subordinated to political ideas. Under the Abbasids every effort is made to develop and diffuse the religious idea of the State in the interest of temporal power. The Sultans could not but reckon with it. And though the religious character of the Caliphate pales more and more—yet even today Muslim rulers love to call themselves 'Caliphs.'

More important even than the State-ideal is the ideal of life and culture—closely intertwined with religion—as it stands before us in Islamic law. This ideal is the canonized and theorized practice of that golden age which fitted in with the atmosphere prevailing already before Islam.

But when, without State support, Islam, in later centuries, travelled in the wake of commerce beyond the frontiers of the Caliphate, merely as a religion and a civilization, the ideals of conduct stood in precisely the same relations as did State ideals towards the sorrowful conditions of the times.

Thus arose the well-known* contrast between religious demands and popular traditions—between *Shariah* and '*Ada.*' If, in the country where it arose, the *Shariah* was more an ideal than a practical guide of life, in foreign countries it became nothing more or less than an ideal, pure and simple. Only the religious portion of the *Shariah* received actual acceptance, or continued to be a working reality. Thus, at the present moment, it is the religious element in Islam which has become really powerful. The actual cohesion of the Muslims all over the world *rests to-day on a common faith and a common ideal.*

In primitive countries, even to-day, the amazing expansion of Islam is due to the union of religion with the forces making for culture and State-building which the conception of Islam implies. The uniting-bond is religion, but the *national* and *liberal* movements of the day have already begun to weaken it.

* *Cf.* the numerous works of Snouck Hurgronje.

Islam, indeed, is not so simple a structure as it is frequently represented to be.

With a geographical slogan, that Islam is merely the offspring of the vegetation of the steppes, we may perplex a lay mind; but, for others, such a theory will only show that the great historical phenomenon has not been rightly conceived or understood. Nor is the view which sets Islam down as ' the culture of the Arabs ' any nearer to a historical understanding of the problem before us. Nor yet, finally, can mere reference to the Qur'an and the life of the Prophet solve the Islamic problems of the day.

As these ideas have, till very recently, received the widest diffusion, not, in vain, I trust, have I attempted to indicate the main outline of Islamic development.

However much of subjective and hypothetical there may be in this sketch, it rests, in the main, on well-authenticated facts.

May further researches—if necessary—alter or modify its conclusions, or if correct, deepen and enrich them with yet greater details.

THE MUSLIM WORLD OF TO-DAY

Mr. John Mott has rendered distinguished service in editing this remarkably interesting book. It contains the considered views of leading European scholars on Islam and its many phases and aspects. The names, for instance, of Professor Margoliouth, Dr. Snouck Hurgronje and Dr. Zwemer are a sufficient guarantee in this connection. Nor are the other contributions less worthy of attention. All are weighty.

The outstanding feature of the book is that it understands and explains the Muslim world of to-day. It is a sound, and scholarly, as distinguished from a controversial, work. There is no element of bitterness perceptible in it—no treading on dangerous ground—no provoking bias—no strain or stress. It is a peaceful survey of contemporary facts, animated by a spirit of informing, enlightening criticism.

Apart from the tendency—not altogether unforgivable—to credit the West with too large a part in the Muslim Renaissance of to-day, no fault can be found with the tone or temper of this collection of essays.

In Chapter I Dr. J. L. Barton, Senior Foreign Secretary to the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions, discusses the impact and influence of Western civilization on the Islamic World of to-day. It is not easy for a European to deal dispassionately with this question, for he is apt to misconceive movements, and misread situations, and is prone to credit to Western civilization what for the East is

naught but the outcome of natural causes, indigenous influences, internal growth. No one will, for a moment, deny the influence of the West upon the East of to-day. But this influence is overrated. Islam contains in itself the germs of growth and expansion. Says Dr. Barton: "*The pull is towards those ideas prevalent among Christian nations, and away from traditional Islam.*" He has, however, left this proposition in a delightfully vague obscurity. He has told us neither what the prevalent ideas among Christian nations are, to which Islam is drawn, nor what the traditional Islam, according to his view, is.

In fact, if I have read Islamic History aright, and scanned the present situation correctly, the "pull" is just the other way. It is towards the Islam that is free from doctrinal fetters—the Islam that is flexible and adaptable to advancing civilization—the Islam that leads us to love and light—the Islam that preaches eternal verities and encourages boundless progress.

The pull, then, is towards the Islam of the Prophet. New conditions—social, political, economic—have called forth new activities; new needs have emphasised the expediency of the alteration or re-adjustment of existing boundaries in every sphere of life; new aspirations have evoked new ideals: but all these would assuredly have come, even had European influences been absent from the East. These are the demands of the Age; and who can turn a deaf ear to these demands—so recurring, so insistent?

To what do we ascribe the great Muslim civilization of the Middle Ages? Surely, not to Christian influences—not to Western influences! For was not the West, in

those days, steeped (or shall we say—shrouded) in ignorance and barbarism?

We ascribe it to the illuminating, light-seeking impulses which Islam itself created—to the spirit of *give and take* which it fostered and consecrated—to the ideals of charity, humanity and learning which it held up and steadfastly pursued.

Islam can never come into conflict with civilization —if by civilization we mean spiritual development, material progress, intellectual growth.

There is nothing in Islam to hamper or hinder the advancement of man. The Qur'an gives naught but counsels of perfection, and the Qur'an is our Light and Guide. It does not so much as even prescribe the form of prayer,—much less does it set up a code of theology obstructive to progress, hostile to enlightenment. There is not one precept subversive of light or culture. Could such a basis be inadequate for the building up of any civilization?

True, Western aggrandizement—growing more and more serious day by day—has awakened the Islamic World to a sense of peril—has brought home to it the necessity of girding its loins for a *possible* life-and-death struggle—has made clear beyond doubt the futility of methods outworn and the folly of indolent acquiescence in things as they are—has sounded the call of duty and the necessity for self-sacrifice, if the Islamic World is to stem the rising tide and survive the deluge.

So far Western influence has been potent and palpable, beyond cavil or question.

On page 9 Dr. Barton says: "*A new spirit of mutual tolerance is also to be noted.*" Apparently he

gives the credit for this new spirit also to the West. But is not this a complete mis-apprehension of Islamic History and Islamic Literature? Spirit of toleration—where was the spirit so marked—so amazingly strong as in the Islamic World of the past? Not the West, to be sure, has taught toleration to Islam or to the Muslims. Tolerant is Islam itself—tolerant it has always been—tolerant when Christendom knew not the meaning or virtue of tolerance. Under the same roof secular and spiritual teachings were imparted. Under the same roof again philosophy and science and theology received shelter and encouragement. *The mosque was the first university of Islam.* Thought was free, and so was the expression of thought. And to-day—when Islamic culture is ridding itself of narrow dogmatic fetters—it is not so much the result of European impact or influence as the result of the recovery of the true spirit of Islam, which bids men do what they may and bear what they must.

The East is fast going back to its true culture and learning. It has realized that its future depends upon following its own lines of civilization and not in masquerading in Western disguises. It has begun to recover its lost heritage; and the first flower and fruit of this recovery is the cry for Progress—the cry for Reform—the cry for Freedom, so strident, so insistent throughout the East.

The East has realised that if she needs 'humanities,' she has them at home; if sciences, they are also there; if political literature, that too it possesses in all its multitudinous forms—monarchical, aristocratical, oligarchical, democratic, anarchical, revolutionary.

The ground-work is ready—what is necessary is building up. Muslims have realized the strength and significance of their culture; and the ferment and stir that we see all around is mainly the outcome of the Muslim Renaissance of to-day—helped on, true enough, by European example, but born of pure Islamic parentage.

Says Dr. Barton: "*Nationalism is a vital force among Muslims to-day, setting aside divine-fiat law and substituting laws that spring from the will of the people.*"

True! Nationalism is a vital force. I concede, but I must, at the same time, add that this nationalism of to-day does not supersede—much less annihilate—that spiritual brotherhood of Islam which includes the entire Islamic fraternity in its large and enlarging embrace. It does not weaken Islam. It strengthens it. Within its own geographical limits each nation may work out its own destiny, but it will never forget that beyond the national limit there is the 'Brotherhood of Islam'—transcending the barriers of Nationality, weaving Islamdom into one indivisible whole—a unity. The Turk and the Egyptian, the Arab and the Persian, the Indian and the Afghan—notwithstanding racial differences—feel the force of religious unity—feel it at the *mosque, at the Hajj,* in foreign countries—everywhere, wherever they come into contact. In the differing nationalities there are no conflicting interests, no feelings of strangeness, no unbridgeable gulf—such as divides the English from the French or the Germans from them both.

The development of nationalities will not impair, much less destroy, the religious unity of Islam, nor the growth of municipal laws slacken or wreck the religious laws of Islam.

One will supplement the other, making a perfect whole, ensuring peace and order, and meeting the spiritual needs of man.

The revival of Muslim culture has opened the eyes of the Muslims—the stress of political conflicts has quickened their energies—the desire to compete with, and hold their own against, the advancing races, has stimulated their efforts, and has made them realize, to the fullest extent, the alternative of either shining success or inglorious death.

These are the causes which explain the Muslim problem all over the world, and I hope that in the light of these facts the learned Doctor may be induced to revise his opinion—perchance, to alter his verdict.

EDUCATION : ITS SCOPE AND AIMS

مدت سے تمنا تھي اسي بات کي مجھکو
چھيڑا ھے تو سن ليجئے قصه مرے دل کا

The one thing which stands out in bold relief is that the entire Muslim educational system grew and matured apart from and independently of state-control. It was built upon purely voluntary efforts. It never had an ornamental figure-head to carry out state-orders, to impose state-decrees, to enforce the official will. The next thing which strikes us in that system is the beneficent influence of religion therein. Interwoven pre-eminently with religion was the zeal for teaching and learning. The spiritual power which the Qur'an exercised over many nations led them on, without any extraneous pressure, to a desire to read it for themselves, and the desire rapidly spread over the Islamic world. And in response to this fast-spreading desire thousands of elementary schools were established in many and in far-distant countries. "That the Muslims established such schools for public instruction not only in Arabia, but even in conquered countries, is an achievement against which neither classical antiquity nor early Christianity has anything to show."* And the elementary schools were but avenues to Higher Education, which was distinguished by perfect freedom of thought and movement, utmost publicity and intense activity in the domain of teaching†

* Hell, Arab Civilization (*tr.* by Khuda Bukhsh), p. 47.

† See Khuda Bukhsh, Educational System of the Muslims in the Middle Ages.

—all these were permeated through and through with a religious strain.

From the very beginning, for the use of higher instruction, Islam lent the mosque.

For Muslims the mosque does not bear the same exclusive character as does a church for Christians. It is not merely a place of worship. The Muslim, indeed, honours the mosque, but he does not hesitate to use it for any laudable purpose. Thus the indigent traveller there finds a shelter, the sick a hospital. Not infrequently the community in the earlier times, used it as a court of justice; for even the administration of justice was deemed something holy. But next to prayer the holiest thing is learning; for it stands even higher than blind piety. Thus were the gates of the mosque readily opened for learned discussions on questions of law. The immense growth of legal knowledge, however, soon let in subjects such as were, at first sight, remote from religion. Thus under one and the same roof the pious said their prayers and the philologist explained a poet.

Hariri, well-known to the West, delivered in a mosque at Basra lectures on poems that were far from religious.

The custom of the teachers to listen to criticisms and to hold discussions on the subject lectured upon compelled them to prepare their lectures with the utmost care, so as to create a favourable impression. Cases occurred of immature teachers resigning their lectureships at the sight of a *savant* in the mosque, and devoting themselves to a more thorough study of their subjects.

But even the silent presence of a learned man must have been inspiring.

As the language in which all lectures were delivered was Arabic, every newcomer, even from the remotest corner of the Islamic Empire, could understand and be understood in a mosque. This constant wandering for learning or for curiosity or in search of truth or for mere fashion, whatever the driving motive, introduced much many-sidedness into the entire educational system of Islam. No literary journals were needed then to circulate new ideas. Travellers carried with them to distant countries good and evil reports of the lectures as also of the views they propounded.

"I know nothing," says Von Kremer, "which brings home to us a picture of the Muslim zeal for truth more clearly and emphatically than an account of the travels of the last great Arab geographer—Yaqut-i-Hamwi. The Mogol menace, which was to destroy the throne of the Abbasids and the old Baghdad, begins its steady forward course, but does not in the slightest degree interfere with the quiet work of our author in the libraries of Merv. In his flight he saves the greatest portion of his gathered materials, and though hardly at leisure or in peace, he sets to work to complete his task before he embarks on his last journey,—never to return."

Of such travel-loving scholars Arabic literature furnishes an endless list. To this passion for travel the pilgrimage to Mekka supplied the first incentive. The search for traditions occasioned the earliest travels in the pursuit of knowledge; later, other branches of learning followed suit. It was a practice, which continued to later

times, to deliver literary and scientific instruction orally. It was not enough to study the book of a renowned author,—according to the Arab view, one must actually hear the author personally deliver the lectures, or study the book under his direct supervision, for thus only was a kind of proof of study established. On this great value was set, as it entitled the holder to deliver independent lectures on the book so studied.

Great is the number of these learned travellers, and Makkari, in his Spanish History under the Moors, has a special chapter dealing with the travellers who, in quest of learning, travelled far East, facing all dangers and evading no troubles. Such travels were regarded as God-pleasing work, nay, a religious duty. A saying of the Prophet is quoted: "He who leaves his home in search of knowledge walks in the path of God until his return home." Another saying runs thus: "God makes easy the path of Paradise to him who makes a journey for the sake of knowledge." Stories are related of the pious who, in the beginning of Islam, travelled for months to secure a new tradition or even a variant of one such tradition. Apart from commercial reasons, other motives, later, heightened this passion for travel. Along with the holy places, Mekka and Medina, which the Muslims were enjoined to visit, early indeed was the visit to the mosque of Jerusalem recommended. And, with the rise of Saint-worship, the number of places for pilgrimage,—true, of a lower plane,—endlessly multiplied. For people of culture, libraries, educational institutions, professors of widespread fame, exercised a powerful magnetic influence. Every student who aimed at a high place at home, must needs hear lectures at the great mos-

ques of Mekka, Baghdad, Damascus, Cairo, or other centres of literary and religious life.

In the beginning it was specially for tradition exegesis, law, and theology that they made extensive journeys. Later, other branches of learning too inspired in the disciples an enthusiasm quite as great as that inspired by the subjects mentioned. This was specially the case with philological studies, because of their close connexion with religious learning. To study the Arabic language in its perfect purity, to collect the old popular songs and proverbs, philologers lived among the Beduins.

Azhari, whose caravan was attacked and plundered on its way through the desert, regarded his captivity and stay for some time among the Beduins as a piece of sheer good luck. Even from remote India came such lovers of learning, and, with entire justice, a keen observer of Arab life says that this craving for travel was of the highest significance for the diffusion of Arab culture. As the prevailing language of all literary and scientific lectures was Arabic, hail he whence he might, in the vast empire of Islam a new-comer was perfectly at home in a mosque or a lecture-room. Language was never a bar or hindrance to him. Thus the constant influx of travellers, of men eager to learn and to see, of the wise and the ambitious, introduced into the intellectual life of the people a great variety and multifariousness. With the good or evil report of the lecturers the travellers carried far away also their opinions and views. Thus not merely copies of new works, but also new thoughts and ideas rapidly made their way all over the Islamic Empire. Through the study of Greek philo-

sophy, carried on with ardent zeal at Baghdad in the ninth and tenth centuries, all this stir and ferment soon affected and leavened the masses.

Qushairi reports how, in Eastern Khorasan, the first messenger of the new ideas was greeted, and how Mekka received the news from a much-travelled scholar (who had rejected the commonly cherished anthropomorphic conceptions of the Deity) of the rise of a new school of religious science at Baghdad.*

Literary and scientific activity soon resulted in the formation of small societies of scholars and scientists. Such a coterie was the broad-minded, progressive club of Basra. A work has come down to us which is apparently the production of such an association of learned and industrious men. I mean the so-called *Treatises of the Brethren of Purity*—a collection of learned and scientific papers embracing the *then* entire philosophy and sciences.

But apart from private societies of congenial souls, mosques specially were the centres not merely of religious but of learned activities. They served the purpose of the first academies and schools. People gathered there to discuss not merely learned but also political questions. There sat one or other professor on a rush-mat, or a small rug, on the floor, leaning against a column which supported the roof, around him a circle of listeners, friends, acquaintances. Nay, such a sight may even now be seen in the mosques of the large towns of the East. In this fashion are lectures delivered to this day in the chief mosque of Cairo. When a text is explained,

* Khuda Bukhsh, Studies: Indian and Islamic, pp. 164-66.

the book lies on a reading-stand before the professor. He either himself reads the text, and explains it orally, or lets one of his pupils read it, while he himself explains as the reading goes on. Of old many of these professors had large audiences. The instruction was absolutely free. Only in primary schools (Kuttab) where children were taught reading and writing, and which were purely private institutions, did the teachers, who maintained them as a means of livelihood, charge a fee. Then, not only strictly theological studies, but also philological studies, closely connected with them, were carried on in the mosques. Even certain philosophical and mathematical studies were included in the syllabus.

But special institutions, the so-called Madrassahs or Academies, soon came into being. The reason for their creation is to be sought, not in the fact that the mosques had become too small for the increasing number of students, or that such an increase interfered with their original character as Houses of Worship, but in the growth of a class of men, devoted to learned studies, who bitterly experienced, as is experienced still, the difficulty of earning a living through abstract learning.

To insure a competence for such men, and to put them in a position to carry on, unharassed, their particular line of study, as also to help those that needed help in their studies, the beautiful practice of founding Madrassahs came into vogue. In 383 A.H. (993 A.D.) the first institution of this kind was established in Baghdad. Another followed in the year 400 A.H. (1009-10 A.D.) at Nisabur. Rapidly their number multiplied, with the result that all great towns soon possessed them. To found a Madrassah was regarded as a pious, meritorious

act. Not only were Madrassahs founded but they were also endowed with the necessary funds for their upkeep, for the pay of professors, and for scholarships to students. Often, indeed, did the professors and the students receive free board and lodging. To the travelling scholars specially did the Madrassahs offer a secure shelter and a warm welcome. A chapel and a library invariably formed part of the Madrassah.

Noticeable was the Madrassah for its external appearance. It was usually built of hewn stones. On the door was the dedication-inscription carved on stone. The interior chiefly consisted of a prayer-hall, in front of which stood an open courtyard. In the midst of that was a large raised reservoir, and round this courtyard, invariably surrounded by arcades, extended the outhouses, consisting of small rooms which opened into the courtyard. Other rooms were used as lecture-rooms or as libraries.

The Madrassahs of Cairo mostly have on the upper-storey an open hall, with double circular arched windows resting on a pillar constructed in the centre. Such a loggia is called Manzara, and this style of building seems to have been common in Baghdad.

From the fourth century onward such colleges were founded everywhere. Liberal encouragement and support were extended to the literary proletariat and the travelling scholar. Thus the indigent scholar, wandering in pursuit of learning, was always sure of free board and lodging. Not only were theological studies carried on in the Madrassahs, but in large towns, such as Damascus, Cairo and Baghdad, there were also Madrassahs where medicine was taught, and in Baghdad

there was one where a specialist lectured on Arab philology.

And this absorbing passion for learning could hardly be satisfied without libraries, public and private. Leaving private libraries aside for the moment, history records that the first public library was established at Baghdad in A.H. 381. But even earlier than this, Mamun had founded a learned Academy (*House of Wisdom*) which possessed a large collection of books. This example was followed by a Fatimid Caliph who also founded a House of Learning (*Dar-al-Ilm*) in Cairo. Immediately before its destruction by the Mogals, Baghdad possessed no less than thirty-six libraries (Rainaud : *Intro. à la Géogr. d' Aboulfeda*, CXL, II). That in other Muslim towns too there was no lack of libraries, the information regarding the libraries at Merv abundantly proves.

Maqdisi relates that he found a library at Ramhurmuz, which was different only in one respect from that of Basra, namely, that the latter had a richer collection. The librarian at Ramhurmuz, he reports, was a scholar who, in addition to his duties, delivered lectures on the Mutazilite system of philosophy. In Shiraz he found yet another great library in a palace which had been built by a Buwayyid prince. He describes the edifice as one of the most extensive and exquisite architectural achievements of that age. He speaks of the library thus : "The library occupies a special portion of the building. It has a director, a librarian, a superintendent,—officers chosen from the *élite* of the town. The founder has provided the library with books of all kinds. The great hall is in a huge *Suffah* (*i.e.*, a platform walled up on three sides). Shelves are let into the walls on every side of the hall.

In length they are of human height, in breadth three yards. They are painted and ornamented with gold. The books are arranged cross-ways on the shelves one over another. Each subject has its own shelf, and every shelf its own catalogue, where the books are minutely described. Only decent people have admission to the library."

Not only did scholars study in the libraries, but, it seems, they were also used as lively meeting-places for men of culture and refinement, where learned discussions and debates took place.

In his *Maqamah* Hariri describes a scene in the library of the little town of Hulwan, where Abu Zaid, peripatetic *litterateur*, finding a reader turning over the pages of the poetical collection of Abu Ubaida, uses the opportunity for a display of his talent in improvisation.

What then is the lesson which the history of Islamic Education reinforces? Its outstanding feature is its freedom from state-control, a curious anticipation of the most enlightened modern view of to-day! The entire system owed its existence and continuance to a pure and pressing demand for light and lore. It was a system not imposed from above, but which drew its sustenance and support entirely from the people. It was liberal, for it set no barriers to light; it was free, for with a free hand it lavished its gifts; it was widespread, for few escaped its influence; it was corporate and organized, for it knit the whole of the Islamic world into one indivisible cultural unity; it was bold, challenging, scientific, shirking no conclusions, fearing no consequences, disdaining no guidance. It was positively not what education is to-day, a mere stepping-stone to a government-post. It

was an end in itself,—the end being the glory of the mind, the adornment of the soul, the making of a good citizen. With them, as with all free people, it was not the economic or material values but the spiritual values of education that counted. Nor were they slow to realise the incalculable importance of the personal contact of the teacher with the taught, and the moulding, leavening influence of such contact : the enthusiasm it awakened; the mental alertness that it quickened; all that was noble and good that it drew out; the enduring impression that it left behind.

Imagine a class-room of pupils with a professor, whose only credential was his knowledge and whose only certificate his ability to teach! What emulation will not such a gathering evoke; what incentives to higher achievements and larger sacrifices will it not provide; what informed purposes of citizenship will it not call into being! Such was the educational system of Islam!

It was this very system which produced judges of incorruptible integrity and citizens of dauntless courage, who rated honour and self-respect higher than mere fleeting, material gain.

Witness the lives of Sa'id ibn Musyab, Abu Hanifa, Nazzam, al-Ghazali, Mawerdi, Jalaluddin Rumi, to mention but a few! Was it not again this very system that nurtured those writers of eternal renown who have penned those beautiful hymns to freedom and to sweet-reasonableness in religion? And was not that sensitiveness to honour; that pride which felt a stain like a wound; that righteousness which defied temptation; that tenderness and liberalism which drew mankind to its bosom as a

loving brotherhood—were they not all born of this education?

And have we not, in our own times, heard its fitful, yet distinct echoes? Who can read Mir Taqi, Momin Khan, Zawq, Ghalib, Hali, Iqbal, without realizing that they are the inheritors of the two-fold Islamic tradition of self-respect and sweet reasonableness in all things human and divine?

What indictment can be graver and sadder than the indictment of Hali?

اپني خود کرتے تھے عزت گر نہ کرتا تھا کوئي
سر هر اک فرعون کے آگے نہ نهوڑاتے تھے هم

What pride nobler or more stern than that of Momin Khan?

منت حضرت عیسی نہ کرینگے هرگز
زندگي کے لئے شرمندۂ احسان هونگے

What reforming zeal more true or more touchingly articulate than that of Ghalib?

با من میاویز ای پدر فرزند آذر را نگر
هرکس که شد صاحب نظر دین بزرگان خوش نکرد

What lament more tragically pathetic and seasonable than that of Iqbal?

هوا پیکار کي آخر اُجاڑیگي گلستان کو
خدا رکھے یہ هین اپنے پُرانے مهربانون مین

Both the Jews and the Greeks felt that the paramount need of humanity was knowledge, and that man should know the truth about himself and his relation to the power outside him. But whereas the Greeks unwearyingly brooded over the question, 'what knowledge was and

how could knowledge be attained?' the Jews found the answer to this question ready made; " The Knowledge of the Lord was the beginning and the end of Wisdom." This answer, however useful in cementing the bond of spiritual kinship and stimulating the sense of spiritual unity, served, in the long run, to block up the thousand-and-one avenues to knowledge which the Greeks discovered and made use of. ' The Knowledge of the Lord,' unassisted, unsupplemented by the experiences of the manifold phases of life, offered but little or no satisfaction to the deeper and pressing intellectual problems that arose and must needs arise in a progressive community.

Thus, with the Greeks, knowledge, unfettered in its course, began its voyage of discovery. There came the drama with its own interpretation of life; there came philosophy with its own scalpel of analysis; there came, in short, the spirit of enquiry, holding forth the torch of guidance. Herein appears in glaring contrast the difference between the Jewish and the Greek mentality. With the one religion became the end, with the other, the starting-point of knowledge.

Islam, at the height of its civilization, saw the beauty and the utility of this spirit and made it its own. " The first condition of knowledge is doubt," acclaimed the philosopher Nazzam, and in acclaiming that principle he was but giving expression to the pervading spirit of the age.

With justice says Sédillot : "What characterized the school of Baghdad from its inception was its scientific spirit. Proceeding from the known to the unknown; taking precise account of celestial phenomenon; accepting nothing as true which was not confirmed by experiment—

such were the fundamental principles taught and acclaimed by the then masters of the sciences." "The Arab," says Draper, "has impressed his intellectual stamp upon Europe, and not in too remote a future will Christendom concede this truth."

True, in its inception Islam, like Judaism, regarded "the Knowledge of the Lord" as the beginning and the end of wisdom but with the clash of mind with mind, with the disruptive influences of Greek and Persian civilizations, it extended, widened, broadened the frontier of knowledge. "The Knowledge of the Lord" continued to be the beginning, but, thanks to the progressive spirit of Islam, it for ever ceased to be the end of wisdom.

Thus in the East, particularly in countries of Arabic speech, an exceedingly rich* and varied secular literature grew up, which found a warm welcome in the great mass of cultural classes of the nation; in the West, literary occupations, in the first half of the Middle Ages, remained the monopoly of the monasteries. In the Empire of the Caliph literature became the common property of the educated people. To it everyone who had the capacity or the inclination contributed in his own way. In the West it continued to be the privilege of a caste, which imported into its literary works theories and prepossessions born of its particular education and upbringing, and resented every new independent tendency which deviated from or clashed with its inherited or acquired notions.

Thus the Arabs early established a secular literature of their own; whereas, for many a long day, exclusively religious remained the cast of European thought.

* Islamic Culture, Vol. I, pp. 593-94.

For the first time, the great popular drama of the Crusades, which evoked a universal reaction in the shape of fanaticism and intolerance throughout the East, operated as a lively stimulus in Europe, diverting intellectual activities to secular streams.

No less remarkable is it that, while in Europe (between 403/413 A.H. = 1012/1022 A.D.), a bloody war of extermination was being waged against the Albigensis, in Islam Ma'arri was openly allowed to sing his note of free-thinking, without let or hindrance.

Like Islamic Art, Islamic learning owes its inspiration to Islamic religion, and its inspiration was at once liberal and beneficent.

And, indeed, can we ever divorce religion from education? There can be but one answer—an answer in the emphatic negative. But the religion which is to be the ally and partner of education must be a religion which unites and not divides mankind; which inculcates kindness and charity; which regards the work of each individual and each generation as a contribution to the sum-total of human goodness; which realizes that though truth may have many vestures, it has but one true voice only; the voice of pity and charity, one finally which, with the poet Sa'ib, regards free-thought and faith as mere sign-posts leading to one and the same goal;

* گفتگوی کفـــر و دین آخر بیک جا میکشد
خواب یک خواب است لیکن مختلف تعبیرها

* Free thought and faith—the upshot's one; they wrangle o'er a name:
Interpretations differ, but the dream is still the same.

And no great Educationist, Eastern or Western, has ever sought to build up the edifice of education without it. And in their essence, are not all religions one and the same? But the lament of Jalaluddin Rumi is as true now as it was in his days. It will find an echo and will awaken a longing in every truly religious heart for a better order of things :

* عاقبت دیدند هرگون ملتی * لا جرم گشتند اسیــــر ذلتی
عاقبت دیدن نباشد دست باف * ورنه کی بودی ز دینها اختلاف

And naught else was it but the farce of things that called forth the piercing cry of Jami :

† از مدرسه به کعبه روم یا به میکــــده
ای پیر ره بگو که طریق صواب چیست

" I still dream of a time," said Perceval at the Jubilee of Clifton College, " when from some school, under some influence which as yet we know not, there shall go forth year by year a new generation of men, who shall be characterised not merely by some social, athletic, or literary accomplishment, some conventional varnish or culture, but by a combination of gifts and strength and moral purpose which shall stamp them as prominent workers, if not as leaders and prophets, in the next stage of our country's evolutionary progress. There is still abundant room, to say nothing of the crying need, for

* Every sort of religious sect foresaw the end (according to their own surmise): of necessity they fell captive to error. To foresee the end is not (as simple as) a hand-loom, otherwise, how would there have been difference in religions.

† Whither from the Madrassah, whither to the Ka'ba or the tavern shall I go, say, O Shaikh, say, which way lies the path of truth?

these social missionaries of a new type, men in whom public spirit, public duty, and social purpose shall be practicable and guiding motives, not vague and intermittent sentiments.''

The ideal is a dream to-day. Why? Because the spirit of religion is not in accord with the spirit of education. Never will such an ideal be realized without a happy and harmonious union of the two,—Knowledge holding the light, Religion sanctifying it with grace and charity.

Apart from the spiritual and intellectual aspects, education has a practical aspect too,—its civic aspect. With an enlarged outlook on life; with a spirit of toleration and compromise; with a wide and widening charity; with the realization of the imperious necessity of give and take, citizenship becomes a partnership in all science and in all art, in every virtue, in all perfection. Patriotism, in a loftier sense, is its flower and fruit,—the patriotism which cements common-fellowship and binds one to another with an unbreakable chain of sacred rights and obligations. Education, at least in the busy world of the twentieth century, is not intended to create a whole race of scholars devoted exclusively to the things of the mind, but citizens capable of judgment and discrimination, possessed of larger views and wider catholicity than those which are bounded by the narrow horizon of self and self-interests. It is intended to build up character, and as Novalis has admirably said, "Character is destiny." "National patriotism and an educated nation are the two sides of the same shield. Education founded on patriotic purpose and carried on in a patriotic spirit is the national

structure which we, like our colleagues in other quarters of the field—in science, art, economics, industry—are concerned with building up. This, too, may be said as a last word about patriotism, that while it requires guarding and fostering, while it may decay from neglect or be distorted by misusage, it is deeply rooted in human nature, and is not dead even where it seems to have fallen asleep. It cannot be killed either by false teaching or by bad example. One hears much of the selfishness of individual against individual, of class against class, even of study against study. Of the patriotism which, in the greater and in the lesser spheres alike, acts constantly as a bond of union, we hear little. It does not strive or cry. It is hardly conscious of itself. But it is there,—sometimes to manifest itself amazingly in great emergencies, always to keep the frame of society together. Patriotism, devotion to the *patria*, would be a meaningless word if there were no *patria*, no community and common good, to be devoted to. It means the sense and the assurance of kinship. Kinship is the same word as kindness. Kindness is the same thing as love. Love is the ultimate motive force of the world.*

Michelet, who was born in 1798, used to speak of Germany, says Fisher, as the India of Europe, denoting by this phrase that the Germans were so absorbed in metaphysical and mystical speculations as to be only faintly interested in the problems of material power. A nation of poets, dreamers, and musicians, without political gifts, without political ambitions, subdivided into a number of petty states, and only at rare intervals conscious of any common German feeling,—such was the

* Mackail, Classical Essays, pp. 252-53.

picture of Germany which presented itself to the mind of a French historian writing towards the middle of the nineteenth century. There could be no sharper contrast than the Germany described by Michelet and the Germany preached by Treitschke and exhibited to the world in the course of the last generation. In the span of a single lifetime a thorough discipline in patriotism had converted a naturally docile population from being one of the least politically-minded races in Europe into an acceptance of the State as being the source of all authority, and the be-all and end-all of life. There is, perhaps, no clearer instance in history of the power of education to produce a spirit of sustained patriotic fervour in a people who for centuries had been conspicuous for the low temperature of their public emotions.*

And if Education can do what it unquestionably has done for Germany, why can it not do the same for India? But such an education must be broad-based and must needs have its sanction and appeal in our own history and tradition, the Eastern tradition. To us both, Hindus and Mohammedans, education was a sacred duty, not a source of mercenary gain. It was liberal, it was humane, it was an instrument of mental and moral elevation. That love of learning which shrank from no sacrifice; which feared no obstacle; which stood out for truth and naught but the truth; which inculcated independence and fought for freedom of the soul; which set righteousness above worldly gain, and honesty of purpose above opportunism,—such was the tone and temper of the true Eastern education. And until we recapture that

* Fisher, The Common Weal, pp. 100-101.

true Eastern spirit our indefeasible claim to fashion our constitution will only provoke the contempt of an observer and the laughter of the man in the street. A constitution, said Barère, is never a concession of the throne,* and that great thinker, John Stuart Mill, has affirmed what Barère has averred. "Human nature," says he, "is not a machine to be built after a model, and set to do exactly the work prescribed for it, but a tree which requires to grow and develop itself on all sides, according to the tendency of the inward forces which make it a living thing."

What then is the ideal of education? Surely not to secure a passport to public services; to add a few letters of the alphabet to one's name; to acquire a superficial knowledge of the English language at the cost of our own; to venture out into the uncharted sea of Politics; to indulge in irresponsible hysterics; to break with the past; to masquerade in foreign ways or glibly utter foreign thoughts; to go through life without a fixed, definite aim; to ignore the claims or ride rough-shod over the feelings of our neighbours; to fling aside the country's cause and to set the heart on narrow aims or grossly selfish interests. Should not the ideal be the creation of an intellectual and spiritual life, with a civic life of a piece with it? By intellectual and spiritual life I mean the discipline and enlightenment of the mind, and what do they consist in? Surely in the power of distinguishing good reasoning from bad, in the power to digest and interpret evidence, in the habit of a catholic observation and a preference for a non-partisan point of

* Memoirs, Vol. I, p. 140.

view, in a taste for knowledge and a deep respect for the integrity of the human mind. The educated man is to be discovered, says President Wilson, by his point of view, by the temper of his mind, by his attitude towards life and his fair way of thinking. He can see, he can discriminate, he can combine ideas and perceive whither they lead; he has insight and comprehension. His mind is a practised instrument of appreciation. He is more apt to contribute light than heat to a discussion, and will oftener than another show the power of uniting the elements of a difficult subject in a whole view; he has the knowledge of the world which no one can have who knows only his own generation or only his own task.*

What we want is the growth and development of the true spirit of learning; a healthy and stimulating rivalry, drawing all that is best in us; the formation of all that goes to constitute a gentleman, the taste and propriety, the generosity and forbearance, the candour and consideration,—the full assemblage of them bound up in the unity of an individual character. What we want is that the education given should be directed to the highest ends, to the ideal perfection of citizenship; not the education which aims at the acquisition of wealth or bodily strength or mere cleverness apart from intelligence and justice.†

In India everything, indeed, tends to degenerate into a groove; everything settles down into a dry, lifeless routine; everything becomes cast-iron, hide-bound—yes, everything here is red-tape, slow-footed, clogged and choked with the dust of custom, prescription, meaning-

* College and State, Vol. II, p. 109.

† Butcher's Harvard Lectures on Greek Subjects, pp. 72, 73.

less formality. Against such a danger it would be well to bear in mind the wholesome warning of Sir Walter Raleigh; " There is another danger, a kind of lethargy," says he, " which falls upon universities in the day of their prosperity, when they have thousands of students and a full measure of public recognition and material success. Then they sometimes forget their earlier gospel, they lose their first sprightly impulse and settle down to a programme, a time-table, an industry, a system. Machinery and discipline, a constitution and regulations—these things are necessary for any great institution; but they are the body of the institution, not its animating soul. If discipline be exalted at the expense of everything else, you get a spirit creditable perhaps to a brigade, but disastrous to the activities of the mind."*

And this is not the only danger which threatens education here. To quote Sir Walter Raleigh once again : " Spontaneity and individuality," says he, " are the springs of its life. Its bravest and most momentous deeds are deviations from the beaten track.........Freedom to think, to criticise, to doubt are essential to a University. *It cannot be free if it is the appendage of any external power.*"†

But years ago Syed Ahmad Khan anticipated Sir Walter : " Our Government has done a great deal," says Syed Ahmad Khan, " for our education and our thanks are due to our Sovereign Lady, Queen Victoria. *But I assure you that we can secure neither national education nor national self-respect unless and until we take our*

* Raleigh, Meaning of a University, p. 13.

† Meaning of a University, pp. 16-17. Seeley's Lectures and Essays, p. 121.

education in our own hands. It is wholly beyond the scope of Government to meet all our needs, to fulfil all our demands. In matters of national interest, it is nothing short of folly, nay of positive shame, to throw ourselves entirely at the feet of Government. It should be our bounden duty to put our own shoulders to the wheel; to rely first and foremost on ourselves in the discharge of our national duties and obligations. We should look to Government for nothing more than bare encouragement and moral support. Were we to act thus, both the Government and the people would respectively discharge their duties.''*

The cry is becoming more and more vocal and strident against the officialisation of the Calcutta University. I know not whether the cry is founded upon real menace or imaginary fear. But whatever may be the case, of one thing there can be no doubt that you have the destiny of education in your own hands. It is up to you to make or mar it. ' Advancement of Learning ' is the motto of the Calcutta University. Would it not be better to accept for a while, at least, *Dominus illuminatio mea* as its motto—the motto of that God-fearing and God-sustained University of Oxford? But the ' Dominus ' is not to be the fleeting, bureaucratic lord, but the eternal Lord of the Universe from whom unceasingly flow Love and Light and Loveliness; whose service is the service of Truth and whose worship, the worship of the Beautiful.

There can be no true politics without true education, for without true education patriotism will be a mere name

* Address on Islamic Education in India, p. 137.

for self-seeking and love of the country a meaningless affirmation.

I will now conclude with those beautiful lines of Rabindra Nath Tagore,—lines which are at once a prayer and a prophecy, where the poet, peering into the future, lifts the veil of futurity for us of narrow vision, to catch a glimpse of the India of the future :—

> Where the mind is without fear and the head is held up;
> Where knowledge is free;
> Where the world has not been broken up into fragments
> of narrow domestic walls;
> Where words come out from the depth of truth;
> Where tireless striving stretches its arms towards perfection;
> Where the clear stream of reason has not lost its way in
> the dreary desert sand of dead habit;
> Where the mind is led forward by thee into ever-widening
> thought and action—
> Into that heaven of freedom, my father, let this country
> awake."

Let us all, with bended knee and humbled head, join the poet in his fervent prayer, and let us all, with everything that lies in our power, help forward the realisation of the poet's dream.

ISLAM AND THE MODERN WORLD

Islam is said by some to be hide-bound, narrow, averse to advancing with the times. No charge could be falser or less in accord with the judgment of history. It is not only now that Islam has been accommodating itself to the needs of the times. It has done so throughout the ages.*

Its liberal principles have found yet more liberal exponents. Witness the entire Islamic literature! Does the history of the world show another literature more catholic in taste, more liberal in principles, more generous in sentiments, more universal in tone and accent, than the Islamic? Is there one narrow, parochial note in the splendid array of the Muslim poets, who are the glory of the Islamic world? From Sanāi to Ghālib there is not one who has not preached the "truth of all religions" and the doctrine of the "brotherhood of man." It thrills me with joy and fills me with hope when I read

* An old objection traceablo to the "Fathers of Islam" (Aslāf) says "that criticism of the contents of the revelation is immoral; for man arrogates to himself thereby the power of judging things divine and so incurs the liability of falling into an error." The "Savants" of Islam successfully fought this prejudice, for it barred the way to freedom of thought. And their success far surpassed their expectations. They not only won the battle "for the right to think and criticise," but they also secured for such a right an assured place in Muslim culture. "To think and speculate" became a pious duty, nay, a necessity for the right understanding of the Qur'an. (Horten, p. 112.)

this literature,—the proudest legacy of the vast Islamic world.

Yes, liberal exponents! And there has always been an age-long war on the part of these liberal exponents, the party of acceleration, with those reactionaries, the party calling for the brake. But the liberal exponents throughout Islamic history have invariably won the day. I shall now review this phase of Islamic development, and take account of the enormous changes that have come over Islam under the impact of European learning and politics. Could Islam have attained and maintained its world-wide empire for centuries, if it had refused to move with the times, if it had irrevocably fixed its gaze on the past, and had declined to look forward to the future for yet larger hopes and yet brighter prospects? Could Islam be to-day what it is, if it was divorced from progress, shut off from light? I shall now pass on to the consideration of these fascinating questions.

Islam has never stood in the way of necessary changes to meet changed conditions,—I mean Islam as understood and interpreted by its liberal exponents. In the course of centuries, like other religions, Islam has yielded to the pressure of progressive ideas, and has altered as much as any other great religion of the world. But in effecting these changes Islam adopted a method which was exclusively its own, and to that method we shall now direct our attention. We are not thinking here of the sects that sprang up, but of those changes which were wrought silently within the religion itself, here effacing ancient boundaries, there extending former frontiers, or actually winning over fresh territories. The old Arabs had a body of inherited views and practices

which were the universally accepted standard of good or evil.* Conformity to them was a duty; deviation from them a crime. We can imagine what hold such a heritage had on the Arab mind from the incontestable fact that the main ground of opposition to the Prophet's teachings was that he defied inherited views and challenged established practices. His teachings were not condemned on their merits. With the triumph of Islam the old *Sunna* of the Arabs was exchanged for the new *Sunna* of the conquering religion. This new *Sunna*, though widely differing from its predecessor, was like it in one respect, its universally binding force. The ideals and usages of the Prophet and his Companions henceforward became the standard of excellence, the rule of conduct, the kindly light of guidance. The result was that all views and practices not strictly in accordance with the *Sunna* were regarded as *Bid'a* (innovation), and as such were to be ruled out by the faithful. This rigid principle so fatal to progress could not long endure unbroken; and, as a matter of fact, it was broken in upon at an early date. The history of Islam therefore is the history of the conflict between these two opposing forces—the *Sunna* and the *Bid'a*, the one making for progress, the other acting as a check; the party of light and progress however always triumphing in the end.

After the victories of Islam and the establishment of the Muslim Empire, new needs arose, new problems called for solution, fresh administrative measures forced

* The Romans had them too. "You philosophers," says Cotta, "appeal to reason. I myself believe without reason, '*etiam nulla ratione reddita.*' " The authority of my ancestors is sufficient for me.—Cicero, "On the Nature of Gods."

themselves upon the attention of the conquerors. All had to be faced and met. The *Sunna* as it lay to hand, forged in simple conditions of life, could not, in the nature of things, deal with the complex situation that had now arisen. The difficulty was solved in a practical way. Muslim jurists and statesmen, always fertile in resources to meet the exigencies of the times, put forward the theory that, in certain circumstances, *Bid'a* was permissible. This opened the door for reform; this led to the path of progress. The rigidity of orthodoxy could always be softened, or even, as was actually the case, circumvented by this all-powerful theory, sanctioning innovation in certain circumstances. The channel through which it was effected was *Ijmā*, consensus of opinion. It was laid down that long-standing usage legalised a practice, though not in conformity with, nay, even in opposition to, the practices of an earlier age. To such a practice *Ijmā* gave a prescriptive title, an authority, a binding force, which could not be called into question. As Dr. Goldziher shrewdly points out, the strange irony of the resultant situation is that "he who demands the earlier practice is repudiated as an innovator." * The most extraordinary instance of this change of attitude is in the universal observance of *Maulūd-al-Nabī*, which, as late as the 8th century A.D., was challenged by the theologians of Islam, but is now an essential part of Muslim life. And it is precisely the same with other religious festivals and liturgical ordinances. Could there be anything more foreign to the spirit of Islam than the worship of saints and shrines, the farcical display of grief

* Goldziher, "Mohammed and Islam," p. 298.

cum merry-making on the 10th of Moharram, and many other practices which have crept into the religion of the Prophet? *Bid'a* therefore has let light into Islam, but it has also let in diverse corrupt practices in vogue amongst the subject-races with whom Muslims came into contact, thus fundamentally metamorphosing Islam.

The necessity for conforming to altered conditions became clearer and clearer and more and more insistent as the years went by, until popular opinion accepted the view that departures from *Sunna*, to suit the needs of the times were in no way inconsistent with Islam. This was a long step forward. In one of the four orthodox sects, the one linked with the name of Malik Ibn Anas,* the *Maslaha*, *utilitas publica* or the common interest, was recognized as the normal point of view in the application of law. It was permitted to deviate from the normal law if it could be shown that the interest of the community demanded a different decision from that given in the law, corresponding to the principle of *corrigere jus propter utilitatem publicam* in Roman Law. This liberty, to be sure, is restricted to each case as it arises, and does not carry with it a definite setting aside of the law. But the principle involved is, in " itself, an indication of the willingness to make concessions within the law." Significant is an important utterance of the highly esteemed theologian Al Zurkani (d. 1122/1710 in Cairo), who, in a passage in his commentary to the code (*Muwatta*) of Malik, distinctly asserts that " decisions may be made in the measure of new circumstances;"

* Goldziher, p. 299; Khuda Bukhsh, " Orient under the Caliphs," p. 408; Ibn Khaldun, " Prolèg.," Vol. III, pp. 26, 28.

"There is nothing strange," he concludes, "in the view that laws must accommodate themselves to circumstances."*

It is not right, then, to say that Islam is a hide-bound system, challenging the progressive spirit, opposed to necessary reforms and salutary changes. Despite occasional halts and back-slidings, historical development has been the marked characteristic of Islamic history. Could the numerous sects have arisen in Islam, if Islam had strangled thought, crushed free-thinking? We are not unaware of the efforts of Imam Ibn Hanbal, and of Ibn Taimiyya, in the fourteenth century, to stem the tide of progress, nor are we insensible of the efforts of the Wahhabi movement to recall the days and emphasize the practices of the Prophet. But what movement can successfully resist the march of time? Did not Ghazzali, who united in himself the spirit of Islam and the spirit of progress, become the beacon-light of the Muslims, and his point of view the criterion of the orthodox Sunni school? Did he not successfully fight the reactionary policy of the Hanbalites, who did their very utmost to combat historical development?

But the modern world has witnessed, and is actually witnessing to-day, most amazing developments in Islam. Western influences have powerfully leavened Muslim thought, just as Christian thought influenced Islam at its birth and during its adolescence. This for two reasons: Western influences do not, in any way, affect the central unity of Muslim thought; and again,

* On Malik Ibn Anas, see "Orient under the Caliphs," pp. 376, 378. Goldziher, "Die Zahiriten," p. 13, and "Orient under the Caliphs," p. 396, note.

in Islam there is no opposing force, such as an Oecumenical Council, to combat or thwart such influences. The unity of Muslim thought consists in the belief that there is one God, and that Mohammed is His apostle. The rest does not count, or counts very little. Coupled with this is the absence of any recognised ecclesiastical authority to call a halt to the advance of modernism or to punish departures from the path of strict orthodoxy. The cries of " Heresy,"—not infrequently heard, soon die away.* The heretic of one age is the apostle of the next. Was not Sir Syed Ahmad of Aligarh such an one? Western civilisation has shaken Muslims out of their slumber. Everywhere, in India, in Egypt, in Persia, in Turkey, wheresoever we turn, Muslims are pulsating with new life, viewing problems from the modern standpoint, forging fresh rules of religious interpretation, reconciling the needs of the hour with their allegiance to the past, justifying modern institutions by appeals to the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet, striving to close the breach between the two great sects which divide the Islamic world.

Tremendous changes are being introduced into Islam. Basing themselves on an independent interpretation of the Qur'an, eminent Muslim scholars are making strenuous efforts to liberate Islam from the fetters of Authority, from the Dead Hand of past ages. Concession to the demands of the times being admitted, these concessions are justified by appeals to the Qur'an and the traditions of the Prophet.

* Snouck Hurgronje, " Mohammedanism," pp. 156-57.

By a special *Fatwa* the Egyptian " Mufti," Shaikh Mohammed Abduh (d. 1905), sanctioned the establishment of Saving Banks and the distribution of dividends; and by a similar process, his colleagues in Constantinople enabled the Ottoman Government to issue interest-bearing State bonds. Of a piece with these is the legalization of insurance policies, which the ancient Muslim Law, if " strictly " interpreted, does not appear to permit.

Like the demands for the furtherance of cultural and economic progress, those for modern forms of Government are similarly supported by the Qur'an and the traditions. In politics too the justification for parliamentary government is found in the Qur'an, and the Shiite Mullahs base the claims of the revolutionists on the doctrine of the hidden Imam.* But yet wider movements are the fruit of Western culture in Eastern lands.

Look at the Babi movement in Persia! What else is that but a war-cry against the petrified theology and outworn legal conceptions of the Mullahs? What else but an attack upon their hypocrisy and worldliness? What else but an attempt to establish a more equitable social order? The founder of Babiism combines Pythagorean subtleties with a distinctly modern point of view.

Bahaism, an offshoot of Babiism, takes us a step yet further on the path of liberalism. " While Bab, at bottom, was only a reformer of Islam, Baha advanced to the larger conception of a world-religion which was to unite all mankind in a religious brotherhood. As, in his political teachings, he professes cosmopolitanism,—

* Goldziher, " Mohamed and Islam," p. 301.

emphasizing that there is no preference to be given to him who loves his country over him who loves humanity—his religion in this matter was stripped of all narrow sectarianism.''* Nor is India behindhand. Here, too, Mirza Gholam Ahmad of Qadian has inaugurated a religious movement of tremendous force and potency. He condemns fanaticism; advocates peace and tolerance; seeks to create an atmosphere favourable to culture; and stresses the necessity of the ethical virtues for Muslims. It is idle to deny the great gift made to the East by Christendom. As a civilization it has permeated Eastern life through and through in all its phases and aspects, social, intellectual, economic, religious. It has taught the spirit of compromise, and the necessity for concession to modern thought. It has weakened the force of merely inherited ideas and customs. It has slackened the hold of unreasoning orthodoxy, and driven home the need for a critical differentiation between fundamental principles and mere fleeting accretions. It has helped the Faithful to realize that their Paradise can be found as assuredly on this earth as it is said to await them in the life beyond the grave.

In the past, as we have shown, the fundamentals of Christian and Mohammedan culture were identical. Are they not moving to the same goal now?

Europe is to-day paying back the debt which it owed to Islam in the Middle Ages. The quarrel between them was and is a quarrel due to pure misunderstanding. Islam, as has been repeatedly pointed out by recent European writers, is the nearest approach to

* Goldziher, p. 317.

Christianity. But in spite of misunderstandings, even the Middle Ages did not quite fail to appreciate this truth. John Cantacuzene, the Greek Emperor of Constantinople, who calls himself in the title of his book " the most pious and Christ-loving King," treats his Turkish foes not as pagans but as " sectaries," and Dante himself places Mohammed in the " Inferno " not as a heathen but as a heretic. True Islam is true Christianity, their mission being identical. In the language of the Apostle James :" Pure religion and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world." This is the burden of all religions, and this is the essence of Islam.

Muslims have gone further than the Greek Emperor and the Florentine poet in charity and toleration. Sana'i, Jami, Sai'b, Ghalib, free and unfettered, look upon " all " religions as one and the same. Nor does that outlook differ from the general outlook of enlightened Islam !

PERSIAN POETRY

In the year 651 A.D. Yazdigard, last of the Sasanids, was defeated and the Sasanid Empire swept away by the unstemmed flood of Arab invasion. The end of the Sasanid rule meant not only the end of the religion of Persia, Zoroastrianism, but also the eclipse of the Pehlavi script and the ascendancy of the Arabic language. The language of the Qur'an displaced the ancient tongue of Persia. Arabic became at once the official language and the language of scholarship. A mere glance at the history of Arabic Literature suffices to prove the great part borne by the Persians in the creation of that literature: Tabari in history; Avicena in Medicine and Philosophy; Beruni in Chronology; Baidhawi in Qur'anic interpretations; Ibn Khurdadbih in Geography, are some of the names that shine forth there with undiminished lustre. Invaluable, thus, is the gift of Persia to Islamic culture. But this wholesale adoption of Arabic spelled disaster to the language of Persia. For three centuries Arabic remained the official language, nay, the language of the cultivated circles and even of the ordinary parlance. Thus Arabic became the language of the people of Nisabur, as also of the people of Kom, and we infer from the letters of Hamadani that even in Merv and Herat * the entire correspondence was carried on in Arabic and that Arabic became the adopted language of

* Khuda Bukhsh, Studies, Indian and Islamic, p. 117.

the higher circles. Even in Khorasan, Arabic for a long time supplanted Persian and reigned supreme. This reminds us of the use of the English language in India. The history of the Arabs and the history of the British People offer more than one parallel of striking significance.

But here we are concerned with Persian Poetry. Poetry has always appealed to the Easterner. The mere collocation of words fills him with joy and ecstasy.

In this sphere have not the Hebrews left a legacy of eternal freshness and beauty ; the Arabs treasures of imperishable excellence ; and the Persians lyrics of surpassing sweetness and charm?

After the Arab conquest the only field left to the Persians for the exercise of literary talents was the field of poetry. But, here, too they did not strike, at the outset, a new path but slavishly followed the Arab models. Nor is this strange, for Khorasan and Transoxiana were leavened through and through with Arab influence. But endowed with natural aptitude and intellectual alertness the Persians soon excelled their Arab masters in poetry. Borrowed metres were altered and modified and forms were invented and polished.

Under the successors of Mamun orthodoxy triumphed and the Caliphate lost its hold upon Persia. The Persian provinces separated themselves and formed their own independent dynasties : the Tahirids, the Saffarids, the Samanids, and the Buwayyids. This meant the reawakening of national feelings ; the rebirth of Persian patriotism. In this renaissance, we shall presently show, Persian poetry played a conspicuous rôle.

Under the Tahirides * (A.D. 820-72) we notice the first indications of the reviving poetical talents of the Persians. Two names have come down to us from those days, Hanzala of Badaghis and Mahmudi Warraq of Herat. But not until the Samanids (A.D. 874-999) did Persian poetry come into its own. The rulers of this dynasty, proud of their Sassanian lineage, were steeped in Persian poetry; imbued through and through with Persian culture. Amidst distractions manifold they found time for the peaceful pursuit of letters. Round them they rallied poets and historians to record their triumphs, to celebrate their achievements. Of the group that gathered round these royal benefactors of learning the most distinguished was Abu Shukur of Balkh (A.D. 950). To him Persian poetry points as the Founder of *Rubai* or quatrain form, chiefly used for mystical verse.† But to Rudagi (d. 954) must be awarded the crown of being the first classical poet of Persia.‡ From him dates the court poetry of Iran. Simple, unaffected, genuine in feeling, free from artificiality or floweriness of diction Rudagi ushers in a new era in Persian poetry. The simplicity of Rudagi was soon lost in the florid style and conventional splendour of his successors. But there is one

* According to Hamadani Tahir is reported to have known not a word of Persian. Browne, *Lit. Hist. of Persia*, Vol. I, pp. 12-13. See Nidhami's second discourse in the '*Chahar Maqala*' on 'Poetic Art.' pp. 42-87, Browne's Transl. In Shibi's '*Shoarā-ul-Ajam*' the reader will find a veritable mine of learned information on Persian poetry. Nor must I forget here Azad's admirable monograph '*Nigaristan-i-Fars*,' a model of exact scholarship.'

† Levy's *Persian Literature* is an admirable little book. Oxford University Press, 1923.

‡ Ethé, Rudagi's *Vorläufer und Zeitgenossen*, pp. 35 *et seq.* in *Morgenländische Forschungen*, Leipzig, 1875.

feature of Rudagi which calls for notice here. In him we observe more clearly than elsewhere the conflict between the gay, sportive spirit of the Persians and the rigidity of Arab theology. Wine, women and song recover their robbed heritage in Persia. In his poems Rudagi, freely and frankly, avows his chivalrous homage to them.

Here is a translation of Rudagi's ode to wine. Prof. Cowell thus translates the first couplet:

> Bring me yon wine which thou might'st call a melted ruby in its cup,
> Or like a scimitar unsheathed, in the Sun's noontide light held up.

Another ode, on Spring, may also be placed here:

> April moon with winter hath done battle,
> And dust pollutes the air o'er fields blood-red;
> Tears from April-clouds the branches broider,
> The scented air imbues the earth with musk.
> Thou hast concealed, Lord, what Time disclosed,
> And Korah brought to light what man had hid!
> Like Layla smiles the tulip on the field,
> With Majnun's eye the cloud rains tears on earth.
> From each hour's fount rose-water scented flows,
> Wherein my love doth lave her rosy cheek.
> Let one lock stray and hundred hearts go free
> At one cold glance two hundred hearts are grieved.

Dakiki was another poet who shed lustre on the Court of the Samanids. "He is best known to fame for having undertaken to set into epic form the *Shahnamah*, the ancient Iranian materials that he had collected for his patron." But he who cast all his forerunners into the shade was the immortal Firdawsi. Deriving his

inspiration from Dakiki,—nay, even using his materials, employing his form and diction,—he has left behind a poetical monument of enduring renown. He, too, like Rudagi and Dakiki, once adorned the court of the Samanids.* But great as is its rank in the domain of poetry the *Shahnamah* is of inestimable importance to the student of History and Politics in Islam. The Arabs conquered Persia, but they never conquered the Persian heart. Nor did they succeed, Islam notwithstanding, in weaning them from the heathen religion or in destroying their fond attachment to their heathen ways. Under the cloak of Islam old traditions survived; the old national spirit continued. As soon as things settled down this national spirit reasserted itself; a claim for equality with the Arabs was vehemently urged; old traditions and legends were collected, arranged, set forth in poetical form; full rein was given to national antipathies and the unrestrained utterances of fiery patriotism. The *Shahnamah* of Firdawsi, thunderous reverberations of a mighty spirit, is thus a monument of Persian patriotism; a repertory of national history and legends; a piece of splendid polemics against the Arabs; a powerful protest against Arab rule.

But the Samanids were not the only Ruling House that honoured letters, favoured poets, encouraged science and arts. Kabus Ibn Washmigir (d. 1012 A.D.), himself a distinguished poet, was a friend of poets. Like the court of the Samanids the Court of Mahmud at Ghazna too was a centre of poetry and science. Unsuri, Farrukhi and Asjadi,† and somewhat later Minuchihri

* The *Shahnamah* was offered to one of the Samanids in whose time it was composed.

† Browne, Vol. III, p. 65.

(d. 1041 A.D.) exercised their poetical talents in the panegyric art and enlivened the court of the great conqueror.

Though the *Shahnamah* was composed at the time of the Samanids and was actually offered to one of them, Firdawsi came to Mahmud with it in the hope of a generous reward from that ruler. His disappointment, his wrath at the meanness of the Sultan, his pungent satire —all this is too well-known to need repetition here.

The Seljuks, who overthrew the Ghaznavids, were not behind them in the patronage of letters. Under them lived Nasiri-Khusraw (A.D. 1004-88), whose *Zadul-Musafirin* (Viaticum) is a landmark in Persian poetry. It unfolds the poet's religious and philosophical basis for his beliefs, and its importance essentially lies in the fact that it is one of the earliest of the didactics and has served as a model to his successors. Under them too lived the great Omar-i-Khayyam, favourite of the West. Of the same fraternity as Catullus and Horace, sure of naught but the throbbing present; votary of pleasure and wine; scoffer at imaginary fears and at rewards promised in the life beyond the grave; a mocking philosopher, a stern realist—he measured everything by his own measure and reduced the world into the microcosm of his own self. Says Omar :—

گردون نگری ز عمر فرسودهٔ ما ست
جیحون اثری ز چشم پالودهٔ ما ست
دوزخ شرری ز رنج بیهودهٔ ما ست
فردوس دمی ز وقت آسودهٔ ما ست

To a world weary of hide-bound conventions and eager for unrestrained freedom his appeal is instantaneous. It is just this which accounts for his amazing popularity in the West. His philosophy coincides with the modern philosophy of life.

We must make here a passing reference to the Rubai of Saif-uddin Bakhrizi, a contemporary of Omar but wholly unlike him.* In his poems there shines forth the spirit of piety, resignation, a serenity which worldly experiences have not marred, and which contact with life has in no wise affected.

Just as the creation of independent Persian dynasties and the celebration of national heroes and the frank avowal of national antipathies towards the Arabs brought the epic into vogue, so the three centuries of Turkish, Tartar and Mogul domination developed the poetry of Sufiism in Persia.

In the wake of Firdawsi followed an epic school. The ' Book of Kings ' brought forth a legion of secondary epics called ' Namahs,' ending, with Nizami, in mystic moralities.

Under foreign rule there was no room for epic poetry or paeans on national heroes. For Persia then there was only one question—whether she should accept a Turk or a Mogul, a white or a black horde, as her ruler. Epic poetry thus had to make room for the poetry of Sufiism.

* Z. D. M. G. (1905), pp. 345-354. Probable date of his death 658 A.D. I have edited the Rubai from a unique MS. in the *Khuda Bukhsh Library*, Patna, in Z. D. M. G. (1905).

Without entering into the controversial region of its origin we may state that Sufiism was essentially eclectic in tone and temper. It drank at the fount of Neo-Platonist ideas; it accepted into its system the Jog of the Hindus; it shrank, in short, from nothing that was universal in application or generous in principle. Its poetry sang of the annihilation of self; merger of human with divine; exaltation, ecstasy; worship of Love and Truth; effacement of Sectarianism; Unity of man.

Mansur Hallaj is one of the earliest exponents of Sufiism. I am the Truth, *i.e.*, God, said he, and he suffered the penalty of death for it. With Sufiism Persian poetry soon became saturated through and through.

Abu Said Ibn Abu Khayr (A.D. 968-1049) is the first of the line of Sufi Poets. He used and popularised the quatrain as a verse form for the expression of mystical thought. He, too, is the founder of that system of metaphors and symbols which employs the language of earthly and bodily pleasure to describe divine love and ecstasy.

Unsuri and Sanai,* court poets at Ghazna, carried on the work of Abu Said. To the *Hadiqa* of Sanai both Farid-ud-din Attar (1119-1230 A.D.) and Jalaluddin owe their inspiration. Attar enormously enriched Sufistic poetry, and Jalaluddin carried it to its supremest height.

* Unsuri died in A.H. 431 (1039 A.D.) in the reign of Masud, son of Mahmud. Hammer, *Gesch. der schönen Redekünste Persiens*, p. 46. Sanai died A.H. 576 (1180 A.D.). Hammer, pp. 102-104.

Thus does Sufiism present itself to Jalaluddin* :—

Hail to thee, O love, our sweet melancholy,
Thou physician of all our ills;
Thou purge of our pride and conceit,
Thou art our Plato and our Galen.
Our earthly body through love is raised to the skies,
Mountains take to dancing and to nimbleness.
Love became the soul of Sinai, lover!
Sinai was intoxicated 'and Moses fell swooning.'
Its secret is hidden 'twixt topmost treble and lowest bass.
Were I to reveal it I'd shatter the world.
But, were I close to my confidant's lips,
I would, like the reed-pipe, say all my say.
He that is far from men that speak his tongue
Is speechless, though he have a hundred voices.
When the rose is gone and the rose-garden fallen to ruin,
Whence wilt thou seek the rose's scent? From rose-water?
The living is the beloved and the lover a thing dead,
When love no more has His attraction,
It remains like a bird without power of flight.

* * * *

What can I say? My thoughts move preposterously,
If I have not the light of my Friend before and behind.

* * * *

Knowest thou why thy mirror will not reflect (love)?
Because the rust (of sin) is not cleansed from its face.

Sadi, better known to the modern world than Jalaluddin, takes us to a wholly different atmosphere. Unlike Jalaluddin who soars higher and yet higher into

* Jalaluddin died at Koniya (A.D. 1273). Levy, Persian Lit., p. 35.

mystic regions; unlike him too in his frenzied love of God; unlike him yet again in the mighty swell of poetic diction, Sadi, none the less, is a figure of outstanding importance in the world of letters. Though a Sufi, an idealist, he never loses touch with the realities of life. Justice, good government, kindness, humility, charity, contentment, love, everything human and divine he touches upon and nothing he touches but he adorns. His *Bustan* and *Gulistan* are beacon-lights to young and old alike. Rich in experience, brimming over with wisdom; full of antidotes for the ills of life; sunny with humour; rippling with wit; tinged with light satirical touches; abounding in maxims, aphorisms, proverbs,—is there any other, in the whole range of Persian literature, whose name is more widely known than that amazing embodiment of strange oddities, contrarieties, opposing qualities, Sadi of Shiraz (1184-1291 A.D.)?

After the fall of the Ilkhans (1265-1337 A.D.) two rival dynasties arose: Jalairis of Irak and the Muzaffaris of Shiraz. Under Shah Shuja the Muzaffaride, lived Shamsul-Din Hafiz, the greatest of all Persian lyricists. (He died 1389 or 90 A.D.). Hafiz wrote *Kasidas*, and *Rubais* and odes, but it is in his odes that he stands unexcelled. To those who know not Persian it is impossible to convey any idea of the rich resonance of his language; its easy, spontaneous, effortless flow; its enthralling charm and beauty; its rhythm, cadence, music. The entire human life is Hafiz' theme. There is no mood, happy or unhappy, serious or sportive, religious or sceptical, to which he does not respond or make an effective appeal.

Here is an ode worth recalling to mind :—

Thus spoke at dawn the field-bird to the newly wakened rose:
' Be kind, for many a bloom like you in this meadow grows.'
The rose laughed: ' You will find that we at truth show
no distress,
But never did a lover with harsh words his love so press.
If ruby wine from jewelled cup it is your wish to drink,
Then pearls and corals pierced with eyelash you must
strive to link.
Love's savour to his nostrils to entice he ne'er can seek,
Who on the tavern's earthly floor has not swept dusty cheek,'
In Iram's garden yesternight, when, in the grateful air,
The breeze of coming day stirred the trees of hyacinth fair,
I asked: ' Throne of Jamshid, where is thy world-revealing cup?'
It sighed: ' That waking fortune deep in sleep lies muffled up.'
They are not always words of love that from the tongue descend:
Come, bring me wine, O taverner, and to this talk put end.
His wit and patience to the waves are cast by Hafiz' tears.
What can he do, that may not hide how love his being sears?

Here is another unforgettable poem of haunting charm :

' If toping be true cause of my demise,
Then bring me to my grave in toper's guise.
The vine-wood casket make my last abode,
And put my grave beside the tavern road.
My corse with tavern-water let them lave;
On toper's shoulder bear me to the grave.
With ruby wine let them my dust allay,
And for sole mourning rite the rebeck play.
And, when I die—this is my testament—
Let only mime or minstrel make lament.
But thou, Hafiz, from wine turn not away;
Sultans no impost on the drunken lay.'

It has been said that there is nothing new in Hafiz. True! Has not Goethe affirmed what Solomon has truly said : ' Is there anything new under the sun?' Genius, to be sure, consists in moulding the old into shapes anew; in presenting them, with the added experience of ages; in clothing them in language of incomparable excellence; in establishing the kinship of humanity. Will not Homer, Horace and Hafiz shake hands on one common platform as intellectual kinsmen; fellow-workers in one and the same field of true poetry; interpreters of man's elemental hopes and passions?

Who can read these great masters without realizing and rejoicing in the realization that even the dividing gulf of colour and creed is here bridged over in the realm of letters, uniting the scattered fragments of humanity into one compact whole, stirred by the self-same hopes; torn by the self-same jealousies, stained with the self-same vices; aglow with radiant virtues; great and petty; generous and selfish; sordid and noble; longing for the unattainable; pining for what is not! These great masters at least enjoin and inculcate one lesson : in understanding lies the future of the world; in misunderstanding its doom.

Many followed in the wake of Hafiz but among the countless imitators two stand out conspicuous : Kamal of Khujand (d. A.D. 1400) and Mulla Mohamed Shirin Maghribi of Tabriz. Nor must I pass over in silence Kasimi Anwar (d. A.D. 1434) a poet and a saint in one. His diwan contains lyrics of the highest order—simple in language, noble in thought, Sufiistic in tendencies. But who can, indeed, exclude from this tribe of immortals Hyder of Herat (d. A.H. 959=A.D.

1551)? Illiterate, of a humble profession, Hyder realized the dream of the French novelist, he lived like a bourgeois and thought like a god. The author of *Makhzan-ul-Grara'ib* says that Hyder carried writing materials with him and whenever any verse occurred to him he asked the passers-by to note it down. In his early days he took to the profession of a baker, and hence he is known as Hyder-i-Kaluj.*

I place here a few specimens of his poetry :—

مدار در چمن از می قدح چو لاله تهی
که بهره داغ دل ماست زین جهان خراب

غم خود با تو ای همدم نگویم زانکه میترسم
ملولت سازد این افسانهٔ دور و دراز امشب

شد عمرها که وادی غم منزل منست
هر جا غمیست بر دل بیحاصل منست

حیدر بسجده رو برهش نه که از نماز
مقصود قبله رو بره یار بودن است

---

* Patna MS. Cat. of the *Khuda Bukhsh Library*, p. 140, Vol. II. My article in the Dec. number of the *Muslim Review* (1926), p. 76.

محرم من نیست دل هرچند با من همدم است
با که گویم راز خود جائیکه دل نامحرم است

بی روی تو گر بنگرم سوی گل و گلزارها
بادا بجای هر گلی در دیدهٔ من خارها
با غیر لطف دمبدم با ما جفا ازروی هم
از یار خوش باشد ستم اما نه این مقدارها
زیبائی حسن بتان هرچند باشد در جهان
پیش رخ خوبت چنان نقشیست بر دیوارها
آنکس که دوزد پیرهن از بهر آن نازک بدن
از رشتهای جان من خواهم که سازد تارها
دور از رخت در هر دمی آرزده ام از هر غمی
بفرست جانا مرهمی از بهر آن آزارها
در گلشن مهر و وفا حیدر بنه دل بر جفا
زینسان که از هرگل ترا در دل شکسته خارها

ای سر مردم کشي چشمان خونریز ترا
هر طرف صد فتنه چشم فتنه انگیز ترا
اینچنین با چاشنيّ ناز آمیزش که داد
خندهٔ شیرین و لعل شکّر آمیز ترا
عاقبت گردد چو من سر حلقهٔ اهل جنون
هرکه بیند حلقهٔ زلف دلاویز ترا
شد چمن سرسبز و کرد از سبزهٔ نو رسته بیشْ
در دل من آرزوی سرو نوخیز ترا

نه همرازی که با او شرح حال خویشتن گویم
نه غمخواری که حرفی از ملال خویشتن گویم
کنم با خود چو مجنون آهوان دشت را همدم
که با ایشان غم مشکین غزال خویشتن گویم
زگل گفتم سخن گشتم ز رویش منفعل چندان
که نتوانم سخن از انفعال خویشتن گویم
در آن گلشن که هرکس با سهی سروی سخن گوید
من دلخسته از نازک نهـــال خویشتن گویم
بود اکثر حدیثم دال بر حال کسان حیدر
نه تنها هرچه گویم حسب حال خویشتن گویم

از عمـــر غرض وصال جانان بود است
و ز مرگ نشان فراق حرمان بود است
من روز سیـــاه مي شنیدم همه عمـــر
آن روز سیـــاه شام هجران بود است

The Patna manuscript contains, among others, the following Rubai :—

بر دل در مرحمت گشـــائي چه شود
بـــا من بســـر عنایت آئی چه شود
چون در قدم تست شفـــای همه رنج
یک لحظه قدم رنجه نمـــائي چه شود

But mention must be made here of the panegyrists and Kasida writers. In this branch of poetry Anwari, the favourite of Sultan Sanjar (1117-57 A.D.) heads the list. With Anwari, however, Khaqani, who spent the greater part of his life in writing eulogies on princes of his native province of Shirwan, disputes the poetic crown.

Nor was the art of satire left uncultivated. Suzani, who flourished in the reign of Sultan Sanjar, found in Ubaydi Zakani (d. 1370-1 A.D.) a worthy successor. To the school of Ubaydi belonged two satirical versifiers and parodists: Abu Ishaq, the poet of food, and his imitator Mohmud Kari, the poet of clothes.

Rieu speaking of Abu Ishaq says:—

'He was ambitious to achieve renown in poetry, but coming after so many great poets, as the last of whom he mentions Kamal Khujandi and Hafiz, he was at a loss to know what new theme to select, when his beloved came in and suggested one by complaining of the loss of her appetite, for the restoration of which he wrote the present work (*Kanzu'l Ishtiha* or Treasure of Appetite).'

Kari wrote the Diwan-i-Albisa (Sartorial Diwan). He comes a century and a half later than Abu Ishaq and is manifestly his imitator.

With Jami (born in the village of Jam in A.D. 1414) closes the list of the great poets of Persia. A writer of immense range, his versatility was amazing. Three diwans of lyrical poetry; seven Masnavis; and numerous prose works attest his genius and industry.

Sultan Husayn, the monarch under whom Jami flourished, was the last of the Timurids, as Jami was the last of the great poets of Persia.

A period of sterility follows. Not until the eighteenth century again does a poet of real distinction arise in Persia. This is Hatif, the soul-uplifting singer of Isphahan, whose magical music sweeps us all off our feet.*

In this survey of Persian poetry I have not referred to the poets who wrote Persian poetry in India. I have done this not because that immortal band is unworthy of a place here, but because it is a subject calling for special treatment of its own. Most of these poets equal, some even excel, their Persian masters. In India the one branch of humanistic studies sedulously cultivated was poetry, and there the Indian intellect has shown to its best advantage its power, its resources, its fertility, its subtle delicate perceptions, its fine artistic instincts. Nor have I here referred to modern Persian poetry. That too is a subject vast enough for a special enquiry. Modern Persian poetry offers a striking example of the changes that distinguish the modern from the medieval world. Eulogies of princes, adoration of mistresses, praises of wine, mere play of words, have yielded to overpowering patriotism, strong sense of nationalism, chivalrous love of fatherland. The modern Eastern world has transferred its allegiance from Venus to the Goddess of Freedom. From the pearl-shedding poetry of Qaani to the sober, sad and reflective Ghazals of Arif a long distance has been traversed. The East has realized that it is not philosophic pamphlets or serious dissertations on the Rights of man that can touch the heart or stir the pulses of a slumbering people. It has realized that if anything

* Browne, p. 284, Vol. IV; see also p. 299.

can really stir them, uplift them, it is poetry. The method of Firdawsi is the method now in vogue, though the form is different. It is not epic poetry which now serves the need of the hour but didactic and lyrical poetry. It is the poetry of the East which utters, feebly though it be, the suppressed patriotism, the stifled aspirations of the Easterners. What Indian can read the patriotic appeals of Mir Taqi, or hear the clarion trumpet of Hali, or again the soft, sad music of Iqbal without a tear, at least without a sigh for what is not? And even so with Arif, the serious, pensive Ārif of Qazwin, aflame with Love, and Truth and Patriotism.

What then is the value of Persian poetry? Apart from its literary excellence it is history undefiled by partisanship. It marks the stages of civilization; records phases of popular thought; reflects national life and all that national life stands for. Nay more, through Sufiism it made for liberalism and toleration by softening the rigour of orthodoxy and extending the bounds of culture. But greatest of all—it was Persian poetry which created, or should we say, revived the long-lost national spirit of Persia? It was poetry which aroused aspirations and enkindled patriotism.

The last Sassanids collected and edited the epic treasures preserved in Pehlavi. The national dynasties took up this work, which the Arab conquest and Arab rule had rudely interrupted. The Saffarids had them translated into the current idiom of the time, and their successors, the Samanids, continued the work begun by them. Under them the *Book of Kings* received a poetical form. Dakiki set himself this task, but he was

slain at the beginning of his undertaking. The Samanids were followed by the Ghaznavids. They proceeded in the footsteps of their predecessors,—nay, Mahmud went much beyond them. He cut off, once for all, all connexion with the Caliphate and removed the Arabs from the administration of the country. Under him Firdawsi sang of the national glory of the Persians and gave stridently vocal utterance to their deep-seated contempt for Arab rule.

Poetry thus inspired patriotism; broke the fetters of orthodoxy; widened the Persian horizon; refined the Persian taste, and, last but not least, it sowed the seed of nationalism.

Poetry is the brightest jewel in the diadem of Persian literature, it is the highest achievement of the Persian mind. Whatever else may pass away, its poetry never shall. Unto the end of time it will continue to heighten joy, to soften sorrow, to enliven comradeship, to sweeten love, to inspire patriotism, to proclaim the brotherhood of man. It has fulfilled a noble mission in the past, and I rejoice to find that it has not forgotten its high calling even in our days of weeping gloom.

In the language of Algernon Charles Swinburne:

"Time takes them home that we loved, fair names and famous,
To the soft long sleep, to the broad sweet bosom of death;
But the flower of their souls he shall not take away to shame us,
Nor the lips lack song for ever that now lack breath.
For with us shall the music and perfume that die not dwell,
Though the dead to our dead bid welcome, and we farewell."

THE AWAKENING OF ISLAM.

The history of Islam cannot be studied in fragments. It must be studied as a whole. The present is unintelligible without reference to the past, and the past is impervious without the understanding of the present. That the entire Islamic world of to-day is aflame with ambitions and astir with aspirations no one who knows anything about it will for a moment doubt or dispute. To what is this new spirit due? Is it, as has often been seriously contended, the *entire* product of Western influences or is it the natural evolution of things? That Western influences have had a very considerable share in this amazing ferment is manifestly clear, but to my mind they have been a trifle exaggerated and magnified. Even if such influences had not existed to the extent they actually do, the changes which mark the Muslim world to-day would not have failed to come. Possibly Western influences have precipitated the crisis. The human mind cannot for ever remain stationary, nor yet the human aspirations sick and palsied. It cannot be constrained into rigid forms for all times. It must resist, rebel, seek an outlet, shaping itself to the needs of the hour and moulding itself to the demands of a growing civilization. And the history of Islamic civilization, like the history of any other civilization, is the history of this gradual, steady, unfaltering acceptance of the claims of the slowly-moving hour-hand of time. Some day this wonderful history will, I trust, be told with its rich details and alluring picturesqueness.

Arabic literature is a magnificent repository, and Arabic histories an inexhaustible source for such a work.

In this sphere Aghani, Ibn Khaldun, and Miskawaihi are guides of unsurpassed excellence,—not to speak of the thousand lesser lights that adorn the literary firmament of Islam. But who can forget in this connection the admirable services of Von Kremer and Mez? By their learning and genius they have made the past a living, moving reality. Islamic civilization is unrolled in their pages before the reader in its manifold variety and vivid picturesqueness. They are indispensable to a correct understanding of the present problems interesting alike to scholar and layman.

But enough of this here. Let us trace the growth of the ideas which have now blossomed forth in full splendour in the Muslim Orient of to-day.

Before taking up those reforms which affect the social domain, we shall discuss the political changes of the very first magnitude which have recently overtaken Islam.

The abolition of the Caliphate is the most momentous event of modern times. Far-reaching are its consequences and, I maintain, consequences for good. Its prolongation till but yesterday demonstrates how the ideas of a vanished age live and linger long after they have spent their force and served their purpose. The Turks before, as now, have rendered heroic service to Islam. At the time of the dwindling Arab power they gave to it fresh life and activity, and to-day they have vindicated as never before the innate strength of Islam to rise to the occasion, to remould its spiritual boundaries, to reshape its political creed.

The history of the Caliphate must here be briefly told. The earliest Islam knew only of one ruler of the Islamic Empire, the Caliph. But soon were seen several rival Caliphs claiming to rule simultaneously, and the nearer the Caliphate approached its fall, the larger grew the number of such independent rulers. Thus they came to hold that the co-existence of two (or even several) Imams was legally permissible, if they did not rule in the same but in different and distant countries. Another result of the gradual transformation of the political conditions was that the old Arab theory, according to which the Prince forfeited the throne by reason of irreligion and godlessness, was insensibly shelved, and the very opposite view asserted itself, which found a staunch champion in Nasafy, who expressly stated that neither vice nor unrighteousness would justify the deposition of the Imam. In full possession of their temporal power the earlier Caliphs rarely relied upon the spiritual aspect of their dignity, and liked to act like temporal potentates; but the later ones, the more they lost their political power, the more they sought to encircle themselves with the halo of an inviolable religious sanctity. And thus we see that at the time when the political authority of the Caliph hardly extended beyond the walls of Baghdad, those very princes who had torn from him his fairest provinces only felt secure in the possession of their power when the Caliph invested them with those lands and granted them his sign-manual warrant and conferred upon them high-sounding titles such as: Baha-ud-Dawlah; 'Adad-ud-Dawlah; Jalal-ul-Mulk; Rukn-ud-Din, etc. We can only explain this phenomenon by the increasing ignorance and growing superstition of the times. Under

the Caliph Kadir the Buwayyid princes ruled Iraq and Fars under the title of 'Amir-ul-Omara. And yet every one of them sought and obtained solemn investiture from the Caliph. It consisted in the Caliph summoning the officials to his palace, receiving the new Amir in solemn audience in their midst, attiring him in seven robes of honour, a black turban, and presenting him with two arm-buckles and a gold chain.* Then he made over to him two banners which he with his own hand fastened to the spear-staff, and finally got his courtiers to engirdle him with a sword. The union of the spiritual and temporal power in the person of the ruler, though it prolonged the life of the Caliphate was not without disadvantage. In the earliest days of Islam they could not conceive of the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power. In fact the governors appointed in their provinces were not only at the head of administration (military, financial and judicial), but were also the representatives of the Spiritual Chief of Islam in all matters religious and ecclesiastical. They preached every Friday at divine service in the mosque, presided at the prayers, and were not only governors but also the legates of the High Priest of Religion.

Very great was the respect and veneration in which the Caliphs were held as the Spiritual Chiefs of Islam. And this indeed conferred upon them a political power at the time when they possessed no army, and had even in their own capital to submit to the tutelage of the Seljuks. I will here mention a fact characteristic of what has been said. When the powerful Seljukian Sultan, Malik Shah, received investiture from the Caliph at Bagh-

* Mez, Die Renaissance des Islams, p. 151, note 2.

dad, he wanted at the conclusion of the ceremony to kiss the hand of the Caliph, but this the Caliph refused, and offered him his signet to kiss.

Thus nominally the Caliph still remained the spiritual and temporal head of the largest portion of the Islamic world. In fact, from Muktafi II (d. 555 A.H. = 1160 A.D.) onward, they even managed to acquire great political independence, and to step into the light once again as powerful temporal rulers. But the Moguls made an end of their temporal power. They took Baghdad and killed the Caliph, his two sons and many kinsmen (656 A.H. = 1258 A.D.). The importance which the religious element conferred upon the Caliph shows itself at best in the fact that, though their temporal power perished, their religious dignity continued unimpaired.

A son of the last Caliph but two continued the Caliphate in Egypt under the protection of the Ayyubides, the rulers there. But a great change had taken place. In Cairo the Abbasid Caliphs ruled merely as the religious chiefs of orthodox Islam. They exercised no temporal power of any kind, except that they conferred investiture, now reduced to a mere formality, upon the Sultans, who for reasons religious or political sought it from the Caliphs.

Thus was completed the separation of the spiritual from the temporal power of the Caliph. The Caliph was the spiritual head,—the Sultan, the temporal ruler of Islam. Until the conquest of Egypt by the Ottoman Salim, the Spiritual Chief of Islam resided at Cairo with the almost meaningless title of the Caliph, or the Commander of the Faithful, and under the protection of the temporal sover-

eign led a precarious existence. The last of these is said to have resigned his claim in favour of the Turkish conqueror. Upon this the Ottoman Sultans rest their claim to the spiritual and temporal sovereignty of Islam.*

We thus see that the Caliph loses in course of time his dual character of Sovereign and Pope. He is gradually bereft of all temporal power and is eventually left a mere shadow of a shade. He confers investiture and high-sounding titles but exercises no real power or authority. Power and authority now vest in the Sultan as opposed to the Caliph. Thus with the extinction of the Caliphate in 1258 the Church of Islam lost its Spiritual Chief, for up to 1258, though ruled by independent governors, the individual provinces of the Caliphate were yet part and parcel of one empire,—and this by reason of the spiritual authority of the Caliph, which was, so to speak, the uniting tie. But, with the altered conditions, they became absolute independent States. Geographical position and the dawning sense of nationality determined their growth and defined their boundary.

Thus in his own dominion every Sultan was an unlimited ruler in matters both spiritual and temporal. Not only was he the head of the State, but also the high-priest of Religion. Thus it was in Spain and Africa; and thus in Arabia and India. In Persia, where the Mogul dynasty of the family of Chengiz Khan had founded a vast empire extending from the Indus to the Euphrates, and even for a time including Syria, the first rulers were heathens and Buddhists. They were doubt-

* Khuda Bukhsh, Politics in Islam, pp. 219 *et seq.* (Eng. trans. of the Chapter ' Staatsidee de Islams ' in von Kremer's " Geschichte der herrschenden Ideen des Islam ").

less partial to the Christians and Jews; but, in matters religious, they on the whole adopted an attitude of indifference, nay, almost of contemptuous tolerance. And yet they kept the supreme spiritual power well in their hands, and personally appointed high ecclesiastical dignitaries.

Only in Egypt did the Caliphate continue; but more in name than in reality. Thus, in Islamic lands, with the different independent Sultanats different independent Churches grew up. But, be it noted, the temporal and spiritual power remained completely in the hands of one man—the Sultan. The vital principle of Islam, the indissoluble union of the spiritual and temporal power, one of the oldest and the most powerful of Semitic ideas, wherein lay the greatest strength of the Caliphate, continued unaffected. But while of yore the temporal power had been lodged in the person of the Spiritual Chief, now, in the altered state of affairs, though the spiritual and temporal power remained in the hands of one and the same person, it was lodged no longer, as in days gone by, in the High Priest of Islam, but in an avowedly temporal ruler—the Sultan. *However outward this subordination of Religion to State, it marks an important stage in the history of Islamic civilization.*

This explain the theories of the later jurists which regard descent from the Quraish as no longer indispensable for the Imamat and which permit every bold adventurer who makes good his claim to be treated as the legitimate head of the State. They no longer hold as before that there could be but one head of Islam, but they concede that several Imams might rule different centres at

one and the same time. *Finally they treat the* Imamat *no longer as a spiritual but as a temporal institution.*

Thus the stages through which the institution of the Caliphate passed are clear and significant. In its inception the religious head is the head of the State; in other words the Pope unites in his person the office of the Caesar. And, as such, there could not be in the nature of things more than one head of religion and state at a time. This principle, in the course of time, is broken in upon and, instead of one, several contemporaneously aspire to and, in fact, dispute the twin headship of the Church and State. The next assault upon the old principle is yet more catastrophic. Though the spiritual and temporal power continue in one and the same hand, it is no longer centred in the hand of the High Priest of Islam but in that of an avowedly temporal ruler, the Sultan. *Religion is subordinated to the State* and thus *a long long step forward is taken in the direction of reform and progress.* And finally, the last stage is reached when publicists such as Ibn Khaldun and Mawardi set the Imamat down as a purely temporal institution.

Thus the reform or the revolution effected by Kamal Pasha is not, as is erroneously assumed, a reform or revolution effected under the inspiration of the West, but is the final fruition of purely Islamic ideas long struggling into supremacy. The abolition of the Caliphate on the 3rd of March, 1924, is the natural culmination of events long moving in that direction.

It constitutes a land-mark in the history of Islam. It ends a fiction; it ushers in modern as opposed to mediæval ideas; it lays the path open for the development of nationalism; and finally, it removes once and

for all the embargo upon liberalism. For it is incompatible with the spirit of modern times to set up, or to yield implicit obedience to, a religious chief whose weapon is naught but God-vested authority and whose appeal is naught but to His immutable decrees. Such a chief can only marshal the forces of darkness to combat the light of reason!

The Turks have once again rallied to the cause of Islam. In the past they rescued the tottering empire of the Arabs and to-day they have revived the fading glory of Islam.

The abolition of the Caliphate will, indeed, enure and permanently enure to the entire benefit of Islam. It will fashion for Islam a new sense of unity, founded not upon fiction but truth—a unity based upon cultural traditions and material interests. With fullest consciousness has Islam realized that its future lies in its powers of cohesion and solidarity. It has further realized that that solidarity should draw its strength and sustenance from a scheme of things, real and vital, and that scheme is naught else save that of *Nationalism* and *Nationalism* pure and undefiled.

Every nation, within its bosom, must be its own architect, working out its own destiny, fulfilling its own mission, unaided and uninterfered with by others. Independent and free from extraneous control or domination, the tie of Islam will bind them all, weaving them into one powerful confederacy, stirred by the self-same ambition to win for Islam and her representatives their rightful place among the modern nations of to-day. That such is the trend of events is clear to all who seriously scan the political horizon. And sheer necessity

and the instinct of self-preservation have put Islam on the defensive. The East has awakened to the danger which threatens its political existence, and this danger can only be effectively met by appropriating and using the weapons forged in the West. Constantinople, Cairo, Kabul, North Africa, India—wherever the cry of the Muezzin is heard—the very very same phenomenon meets the eye: Western education, Western methods, good or evil; Western principles of agitation, open or secret; even Western social customs, serious or gay, and last but not least the strident, and ever more strident, call for freedom and self-determination.

But the wave of Westernism, sweeping as it is to-day in full force over the orient, has not weakened, impaired, or destroyed Islam. Islam stands erect, four-square to the winds that blow. It may sound strange but it is none the less true, that Western influences and Western experiences, instead of weaning us away, draw us closer and yet closer to Islam. And what is the secret of this wondrous hold? To the savage and the savant Islam appeals with equal force; for there is nothing in Islam to hamper or to impede the forward step of man. Free from theology and priest-craft it imposes no rigid code of law. Destitute of ritual and ceremonial it leaves its votary a perfect and free hand in worship and devotion. In its essence splendidly democratic it gives the freest and fullest scope to the genius of man. The Qur'an, instead of being a stumbling-block to advancement, is a book, brimming with counsels of perfection for all times and all peoples. It does not restrict but widens the charity of man. The fleeting must however be disengaged from the permanent and the necessity of the hour

must not be sacrificed to an obsolete edict or to the dictates of a temporary measure In one of the four orthodox sects, the one linked with the name of Malik Ibn Anas, the *Maslaha, utilitas publica* or the common interest, was recognised as the normal point of view in the application of law, and it was accordingly permitted to deviate from the normal law, if it could be shown that the interest of the community demanded a different decision from that given in the law. And significant indeed is the important utterance of the highly esteemed theologian Al-Zurkani (d. 1122/1710 in Cairo), who, in a passage in his commentary on the code (*Muwatta*) of Malik, distinctly asserts "that decisions may be made in the measure of new circumstances." "There is nothing strange," he concludes, "in the view that laws must accommodate themselves to circumstances."

Such is the true spirit of Islam! Universalism is its key-note, unity of God its sole slogan; brotherhood of man its cardinal tenet; a will to conquer its refreshing inspiration. The rest is the creation of theology and not the essentials of Islam.

And such is the Islam of the modern Muslims, the true Islam of the Prophet. And this Islam has donned modern armour and is determined to do battle for its safety. The rallying-point now is not the glory of Allah and the extension of his spiritual kingdom, but the rallying-point is the security and safety of its very existence. Islam has grasped Western policy and has no illusions about Western aims.

Let us listen to Mr. Wilson Cash* :

"We may over-emphasize the disintegration of

* The Expansion of Islam, pp. 256-7.

Islam if we study only the influence of the West upon Moslem life. We may exaggerate Arab Moslem strength if we judge twentieth century conditions by events of the seventh century, but we cannot overestimate the importance of the Moslem world finding common ground in a new patriotism which is setting out to withstand and overthrow western domination. The Moslem world is learning western ways not because it loves the West, but only because it sees in westernism the one way of counteracting the domination of Europe over Moslem lands. Thus with nationalism among the youth there is growing stronger and stronger a deep distrust of the West and a determination to live their own lives, not only socially, freed from the traditions of the past, but also unfettered by all western control.

Mr. Felix Valyi echoes the voice of the young nationalists in their attitude to the West when he says :

'With the object of ensuring the greater comfort of the white race two-thirds of humanity have been reduced to economic slavery.'

The Moslem world is demanding vociferously what it terms 'the legitimate rights of man, the laws of nations on a basis of equality of treatment.'

This race antagonism is not one of many problems, it is rapidly becoming in the Moslem world *the* problem. We have noticed the cleavage between Turkey and the rest of Islam on account of Turkey's anti-Moslem legislation; but the startling fact remains that, however divided Turkey may be from Cairo or Aligarh in matters of religion, the whole Moslem world is ready to unite with Turkey in a common struggle against the aggressions of the West. Europe is accused of a policy of

plunder, and not without some cause. Events since the war have convinced Islam that Europe does not play the game. The Arab kingdom from Damascus to the Hedjaz has not materialized. The Druses, goaded by the misrule of French officers, have revolted; and a situation that at one time was capable of solution has embittered still further the relations between Islam and Europe. Abd-el-Krim's war in Morocco was significant in that he succeeded in holding at bay two European powers for so long a period.

The Balfour declaration in Palestine and the division of Syria and Palestine between France and England gives the Arab the impression that these two countries are exploiting their land for European ends. For these and other causes the Moslem world has decided that Europe is inimical to its best interests. The youth of Islam to-day is thinking in terms of politics more than religion. He is often far more interested in his nation's welfare than in the spread of Islam. The solidarity of Islam is not a question of caliphate, or the sheriah (religious law), but almost entirely a matter of political unity in the face of the West."

The movements that have marked the history of modern Islam are as much the outcome of internal as of external influences, but the sheer instinct of self-preservation has steadied their purpose, quickened their steps, ensured their success.

Musa-Al-Hadi was of a piece with his father. He was just, brave, generous, cheerful, and withal stern and severe against heretics. In one respect, and in one only, did he differ from him. He intended to rule alone; whereas Mahdi, especially in the last years of his life, had allowed his wife Khaizuran to exercise very considerable influence on government affairs. During Mahdi's life, she had been, so to speak, the pivot of the state. In her palace the courtiers who sought favour assembled and paid their ceremonial call even before they had seen the Caliph—and offered their morning greetings there. To her influence Hadi probably ascribed the change in the line of succession intended by his father. After his return to Baghdad, he relegated her to the *harem*; forbade her to interfere, in any way, with the affairs of the state; and prohibited his officials from having anything whatever to do with her. If this power-loving and pampered queen was embittered against her son by these measures, she became still more embittered when Hadi sought to displace her favourite son Harun from the throne and to appoint his own minor son Jafar as his successor to the Caliphate. He proceeded against Harun precisely in the same manner as his forefather had proceeded against Isa Ibn Musa. He suffered Harun to be slighted and insulted by the whole court, and to such an extent that Harun was obliged to seek safety in his country castle. Several army-leaders supported the Caliph in his treacherous design; only the Barmacide Yahya Ibn Khalid ventured to defend the rights of Harun, and to warn the

Caliph against violation of the oath sworn to his father. The Caliph had him imprisoned, and had made all arrangements for homage to be done to his son, when, at the instance of his own mother, according to one version, he was poisoned by a slave-girl on a journey, in the neighbourhood of Mosul, or, according to another version, was throttled in his bed. (15th September, 786.)

Of public events in the one-year reign of Hadi, only an insurrection of the Alides in Mekka and Medina is to be mentioned. It did not assume very large dimensions and was speedily suppressed; but it is not, on that account, to be ignored or passed over, because one of the Alide rebels, Idris Ibn Abdullah, fled across Egypt to West Africa, where he was later poisoned at the command of Harun, but his descendants founded an independent kingdom which extended from Welila to Fez and Morocco.

Both in the East and the West, Harun ar-Rashid has acquired an indisputable primacy in the history of the Caliphs. He owes his great fame to his outward religious observances; to his numerous pilgrimages, on which a large number of theologians accompanied him; to his liberality towards poets and scholars, as also towards the inhabitants of the holy towns; to his efforts at adorning and enriching the capital, which in his reign attained its meridian glory, steadily to decline therefrom under his successors; to the fact that many distinguished men —*wazirs*, judges, orators, traditionists, poets, singers, musicians—shed lustre on his court and raised Baghdad to the position of a city conspicuous not only for its extent, riches and splendour, but also for its learning and civilization. His victorious campaigns against the By-

zantines contributed no less towards his fame with his contemporaries. Finally, his own attainments, his liveliness, his sense of refined social pleasure, his illuminating conversation, coupled with the rich presents which he so freely lavished—these captured, captivated, riveted to himself the most gifted men of his time. No wonder, then, that even the later writers of fiction looked back to the time of Harun as the golden age of the Caliphate : and when they wanted to carry back their contemporaries to the days of vanished glory and of vanished might and splendour, they naturally selected the reign of the Caliph Harun ar-Rashid. They invested him with virtues which he never possessed, and cast a veil over the vices which disfigured his character.

Most undeserved was the appellation of the 'just' which he received from his father when he was named second in the order of succession ; for, however much venal poets might extol his virtues, sober historians register facts in painful contrast to these lyric praises. His piety was a mere hypocritical cloak. He not only secretly indulged in the most odious of vices, but even did not shrink from the most hateful of crimes. He was no better than his grandfather Mansur,* and even if the numerous anecdotes, in which he appears as a clement and just ruler, were not later inventions, they but prove that with him, as with other despots, there were moments when better instincts obtained a passing triumph. The following incontestable facts prove that Harun was one of the most despicable tyrants that ever sat on a throne.

* Nöldeke, Eastern Sketches, article on "Mansur."

Idris was poisoned; the post-master of Egypt who facilitated his flight was executed; Amir Abu Ismah, who counselled Hadi to appoint his son Jafar, in place of Harun, as his successor, was put to death. Such were the acts with which Harun inaugurated his reign. The Governor of Mesopotamia was punished with death for being defeated in a war against the Kharijites. The Alide Musa Ibn Jafar had to end his days in prison, because he once saluted the grave of the Prophet in Medina with the words "Hail to thee, Father" while Harun could only approach it with the exclamation "Hail to thee, cousin." A cousin of Mansur was deprived of his liberty because of an unfounded calumny. Another cousin of his was accused, even after his death, of intended high treason, to give Harun a pretext for confiscating his vast estate to the injury of his nearer kinsmen. The Alide Yahya Ibn Abdullah who rebelled in Persia, but who subsequently surrendered on being shown a letter of pardon from the Caliph, was imprisoned in spite of it, and according to another report was murdered in prison because one of the slavish courtiers discovered a technical defect in the document. The brother of a rebel in Khorasan was brought before Harun, when on the point of death. Yet Harun told him: Had I only strength left to me to utter a word—that word would be 'death.' He thereupon sent for an executioner, and had him hacked to pieces.

The extermination of the Barmacides alone would brand him with infamy for all time.* The family des-

* Barmak is said to be the title given to the chief priest of the fire temple, Browne, I, 257. See, Masudi, Vol. VI, 361, *et seq.*, 886 *et seq.* Ibn Khallikan, transl., De Slane, I, 30 *et seq.*; II, 459; IV, 103. See Encyclopædia of Islam, sub. *Barmakids.* See the monograph of Bouvat, *Les Bermécides.*

cended from Barmak, and was of Persian origin. The founder Barmak accepted Islam under the Omayyads, and the family early acquired great renown. After the murder of Abu Salma, Khalid, a son of Barmak, was appointed *wazir* of Saffah. Under Mansur Khalid first held the post of the Finance Minister. Then he became Governor of Mosul. Later, he superintended the construction of the city of Baghdad, and did his best to save the palace of the old Persian kings from destruction.* In the reign of Al-Madhi,† the young prince Harun was entrusted to the care of Yahya, the son of Khalid (A.H. 161=777-8 A.D.). After A.H. 163 (779-80) Yahya was at the head of the chancellory (Diwan-Al-Rasail) of the Prince who was then appointed Governor of the West (all the Provinces west of the Euphrates) with Armenia and Adherbaijan. During the brief reign of Al-Hadi, Yahya as an adherent of the young Prince, whom they

* Whilst engaged in constructing his new capital of Baghdad, the Caliph Al-Mansur was advised by Abu Ayyub-al Muriyani to destroy the Sassanian Palace known as *Aywan-i-Kisra* and utilise the material for building purposes. He consulted Khalid, who replied, "Do not do this thing, O Commander of the Faithful, for verily it is a sign of the triumph of Islam, for when men see it they know that only a heavenly dispensation could destroy the like of this building. Moreover, it was the place of prayer of Ali. Further, the expense of destroying it would be greater than what will be gained thereby." "O Khalid," answered Al-Mansur, "thou hast naught but partiality for all that is Persian!" Khalid's prophecy as to the labour and expense involved in its destruction proved however to be correct, and so one day the Caliph said to him, "O Khalid, we have come over to thine opinion, and have abandoned the destruction of the Palace." "O Commander of the Faithful," said Khalid, "I advise thee now to destroy it, lest men should say that thou wert unable to destroy what another built!" Fortunately, however, the Caliph again refused to follow his advice, and the demolition of the Palace was suspended. Browne, Lit. Hist. of Persia, Vol. I, 258. Al-Fakhri, 185, 186. Tabari, Series III, 320.

† Set Encyc. of Islam, Sub, "*Barmakids*."

wished to force to renounce the succession, was in danger of his life. After the accession of Harun, Yahya, the Barmacide, whom the Caliph still always called "Father," was appointed *Wazir*, with unlimited powers, and with the help of his sons Fadl and Jafar (his two other sons Musa and Mohamed are more rarely mentioned) ruled the kingdom for seventeen years (786-803).

The Caliph loved Jafar best.* Like himself Jafar was cheerful, merry and talented. His fondness for Jafar was so great that he could not even do without him in his social circles after dusk when the ladies of the *Harem* were present. To make this possible without offending the rigid oriental custom, he hit upon the unhappy scheme of having the marriage ceremony between Jafar and his sister performed, on the understanding that it was purely nominal.†

But Abbâsa was passionately in love with her husband, and with the help of Jafar's mother managed to meet him. Her relations with Jafar remained for many years concealed, and the child of their secret union was quietly brought up in Mekka.

* Jafar's intimacy with the Caliph, which did not at all please Yahya, is attributed to a notorious oriental vice (Tabari, III. 676). Except for a short journey to Syria in the year 180 (796-7), when he had to make peace among the Arab tribes who were fighting among themselves, as had his brother Musa four years earlier, he appears never to have been separated from the Caliph, and on this occasion he gave vent to his sorrow and his desire for reunion in extravagant language. (Tabari, III. 642.) He was several times appointed Governor of large provinces by his princely patron, but these were always ruled by his deputies. It cannot be ascertained from the authorities whether he ever actually conducted the business of state as a minister, or what buildings or other works were executed by him. The only trace of his influence is the fact that his name appears on the coins of the Caliph.

† Muir, 481.

A slave-girl, however, betrayed her. Harun travelled to Mekka, saw the child, and when convinced of the truth of the story, decided upon the extermination of the entire family. Jafar was beheaded without a hearing, and his mutilated corpse was hung up at a gate or a bridge at Baghdad. Abbasa and her child are said to have been buried alive. Yahya and the rest of his sons were put into prison, and all their property was confiscated. Any one who dared to express sorrow over the sad fate of this unhappy family was sure of death. One Ibrahim, son of the Chief of Mansur's body-guard, was executed because he dared to mourn the death of Jafar. The Caliph, before whom he was accused as a friend of Jafar, invited him to an evening meal, and, after they had taken plenty of wine, feigned grief at his severity against Jafar and said that he would give away his whole kingdom could he only be recalled to life. Ibrahim, believing it to be a genuine expression of grief, opened his heart to him and confessed that he, too, mourned the loss of a man like Jafar, who was impossible to replace. At these words the Caliph called out to him "damn you," and handed him over to the executioner.

To veil the scandal of the *Harem*, other reasons were naturally invented against the Barmacides. But Tabari, a famous historian, who was in touch with the contemporaries of Harun, thus concludes his recital of the fall of the Barmacides: "Harun's act might have been justified if this catastrophe had not been connected with the history of his sister. So his conduct only served to give publicity to his disgrace. If he had silently borne what had happened, the matter would probably have become known only at court, or, at most, in

the capital but, as it was, it became known to all his contemporaries, and may go down through history to the last generation of mortals. As often as people will ask : what brought about the fall of the Barmacides? the answer will be: the adventure of Harun's sister, Abbasa."

The official reasons for the disfavour of the Barmacides are said to be these : First, they were not orthodox Muslims, but secret supporters of free-thinking. The Caliph, further, was said to have been warned about their ambition, and was put on his guard against their unbounded wealth and unlimited power and the possibility of their attempting to oust him from the throne; for already by their splendour and influence they had cast him into the shade. These and similar accusations might well have been made against the Barmacides—Persians as they were, and as such not much loved by the Arabs. Malevolent whispers might have made a deep impression on a man ambitious, fame-seeking, suspicious, such as Harun was: but his special anger against Jafar whom alone he singled out for execution; the time when the order was issued and executed, namely, immediately after his return from Mekka (803 A.D.); as well as Harun's own reply to his sister who questioned him regarding the reason for the death of Jafar, show that he intended to keep the motive a secret, for the answer was: were it known even to the shirt which I wear on my body, I would tear it to pieces.*

The unmerited ill-treatment of the Barmacides, which extended even to their friends and the officers ap-

* Muir, note, p. 482 (Ed. 1915).

pointed by them, made so bad an impression at Baghdad where the family was greatly honoured, that the Caliph transferred his residence to Rakkah. For this step, he put forward as his reason the frequent insurrections in Syria and Mesopotamia, and the necessity for his being at hand. In Syria there still lingered a great deal of love for the Omayyads. Further, the old enmity between the Yamanides and the Mudharites there continued unabated. The Mudharites, therefore, forthwith showed an inclination to rebel, the moment a Governor of the Yamanide tribe was set over them. In Mesopotamia republican principles had gained the upper hand. Similar conditions, as in Syria, had called forth repeated insurrections in Khorasan. There, too, there was little love for Islam or its rulers. Nor was the position of affairs different in Egypt, where the people were weighed down with crushing taxation. Even in the Province of Africa, *i.e.*, in Kairowan and Tunis, one insurrection followed another until Ibrahim Ibn Aghlab was appointed Governor (800), but he soon set himself up as an independent ruler, and bequeathed his throne to his descendants, who under the name of the Aghlabides, ruled Sicily until overthrown by the Fatimides in 909 A.D. The Idrisides rested their claim to rule on their kinship with Ali. Ibrahim let them alone, to be all the more secure from any interference of the Caliph, who dreaded Ibrahim going over to the Idrisides and thereby extending the Alide rule throughout Africa.

Harun had, indeed, not only to battle with insurrections at home, but also to fight the Khozars in Armenia and the Byzantines in Asia Minor. The victories that he won over the Byzantines, as already mentioned,

served, in no small measure, to veil his weaknesses and to enhance his glory.

Harun is said personally to have taken the field eight times against the Greeks.* Every year predatory expeditions by land and sea were undertaken, bringing in valuable booty and countless prisoners. The Empress Irene, by reason of the internal unrest and the war against the Bulgarians, was wholly unable to oppose or fight the Arabs.

In the year 797-798, the Arabs advanced as far as Ancyra and Ephesus, and Irene was forced once more to purchase peace at a heavy cost. When Nicephorus ascended the throne (802) he wrote to Harun asking him to return all the money he had received from Irene, or the Sword would decide between them. To this letter Harun thus replied : In the name of God, the merciful, the compassionate, from Harun, the Commander of the Faithful, to the dog of a Greek. I have read thy letter —thou, son of an infidel—not only wilt thou have an answer but thou wilt see it with thy very eyes.

Harun forthwith set out with an army and stood before the walls of Heraclea. Nicephorus needed all his strength then to fight the rebel Bardanes, and, therefore, there was no other course left to him but to consent to pay tribute, to induce the despised Caliph to return home.

With equal promptness in 803, Harun marched over the mountain chains of Taurus when the Emperor, on the overthrow of the rebel Bardanes, broke the peace and compelled Nicephorus, after his general Jabil Ibn Yahya had inflicted a bloody defeat on him, to agree to a fresh truce. Even this time the Greeks violated the

* Bury, Later Roman Empire, pp. 422, 479, 492, 533.

compact. While Harun was away in Khorasan to depose the Governor there, the Greeks built afresh the fortifications razed to the ground by the Muslims, and made incursions into Muslim territory.

On his return home (806) Harun soon punished these acts of bad faith. With an army of 135,000 men —apart from the Volunteers—he took the field, captured Heraclea and other strongholds, destroyed towns, devastated countries, took women and children captives, and marched away with all the movable property he could lay his hands on. Simultaneously a fleet sailed to Cyprus and brought from there 17,000 Christians as captives. To avoid worse troubles, Nicephorus submitted to the greatest indignity; namely, of having not only to pay a fresh tribute, but as a sign and symbol of complete defeat to pledge himself to a capitation tax for himself and his family. Among other terms, the treaty contained the term that Heraclea, destroyed by the Muslims, should never again be restored. In the following year, however, when Harun was busy fighting the rebels in Adherbaijan and Khorasan, the Byzantines once again committed acts of hostilities against the Arabs. For this breach of faith the Caliph avenged himself by punishing his Christian subjects. Churches were pulled down and the forgotten ordinance of the Caliph Omar, regarding the outward token to be worn by Christians, was revived and put into force.

Hitherto we find no trace of intolerance in Harun. In fact, he hesitated as little as did Mansur in concluding an alliance with the Franks in order to check the Omayyads in Spain in their attempt of the reconquest of the East. Even with the Chinese Emperor, as with

Charles the Great, embassies met to settle the affairs of the Provinces bordering on the Chinese frontier in Transoxiana.

At the time when the Byzantines raided Muslim territory Harun was contemplating an expedition against the rebel Rafi Ibn Laith, who had brought all the country beyond the Oxus under his control. In the spring of 808 Harun left Baghdad, accompanied by his eldest son, but, owing to an illness, he had to break his journey at Tus, where he died in the 24th year of his reign (23rd March, 809).*

Already, in the year 791, Harun had caused homage to be done to his five-year old son Amin by his wife Khadija (a grand-daughter of Mansur), who by her patronage of scholars and poets, by the splendour of her pilgrimages, and by many acts of munificence, had acquired as great a fame as her royal spouse. In the year 798 Mamun—the son of a Persian slave girl—was appointed second in the order of succession.

Harun knew, indeed, from the examples of the past (and what little was wanting was supplied from his own experiences) that it was the easiest thing in the world for a despotic ruler to set at naught a scrap of paper, however well-fortified with the most sacred oath, when there was a question of setting one's own son in place of a brother on the throne. To make the position of Mamun, therefore, strong and secure, Harun in his life-time effected a division of the empire. Amin, according to the earlier arrangement, was to inherit the position of the Caliph, but in reality he was to rule only over Iraq,

* According to some report he was poisoned.

Syria, Egypt and Africa. The entire East, from Hamadan to the Indus and the Jaxartes, was placed under Mamun; while Northern Mesopotamia with the fortifications bordering upon Armenia and Asia Minor, was assigned to Kasim—another son of Harun, nominated third in the order of succession.

Scarcely was Harun dead when the arrangements made by him were trampled under foot by two of his sons who, as Harun knew only too well, were eagerly looking forward to his end.

THE ARAB ACADEMIES AND THEIR PROFESSORS

BAGHDAD.*

I.—ACADEMIA NIDHAMICA.

Nidham-ul-Mulk Abu Ali Al Hasan Bin Ali was born in the year 408 A.H. at Tus, in the portion of the town called Nausan. Under Tughrul Beg, the first ruler of the Seljukian dynasty, he rose to the position of Wazir—a position which he retained under Tughrul's two immediate successors—Alp Arslan and Malik Shah. He died in A.H. 485. He built at Baghdad the *Academia Nidhamica*, called after him, where Shafi'i learning was taught. In Dhul-Hijja of the year 457 A.H., the building was begun. After its completion—on Saturday, the 10th of Dhul-Qada of the year 459 A.H., Abu Ishaq Ibrahim al-Shirazi was to assume charge as its first Professor. But, on that day, he was nowhere to be found. He concealed himself, as he declined to teach holy sciences in a house built upon land unjustly taken from its earlier owners.

Complaint was already stridently vocal on this score.

As students and others had gathered, in large numbers, on the opening day, at the academy, it was opened

* A translation of Die Academien der Araber und ihre Lehrer, by F. Wüstenfeld.

by Abu Nasr Ibn-ul-Sabbagh, who delivered lectures for full twenty days. In the meantime Abu Ishaq continued lecturing in his own lecture hall, but his students threatened to leave him and go over to Sabbagh, if he persisted in his refusal to teach at the Academy. The threat bore fruit. Abu Ishaq consented. Sabbagh vacated and Abu Ishaq stepped into his place.

1. Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Bin Ali al-Shirazi was born at Firuzabad in A. H. 393. In A.H. 410 he came to Shiraz, where he studied Jurisprudence under Abu Abdullah al Baidawi (191) and Abu Ahmad Abdullah Wahhab Bin Ramin (192). At Basra he heard the lectures of Ibn-al-Jauzi. In Shawwal 415 he repaired to Baghdad and attended the lectures of Abu Hatim Mahmud-al-Kazwini (193) on Institutions, and of Abu Ali Al Hasan-al-Zajjazi and Abul Tayyib al Tahir al-Tabari (194) on special sections of Jurisprudence, until he succeeded in A.H. 430 and lectured on the principles of Shafi'ism. When Professor at the Nidhamiya students flocked to him from East and West, by land and sea, and important questions were addressed to him for answer. When, once, he was sent by the Caliph as ambassador to Khorasan, the Imam-al-Haramain (38) met him at Naisabur, carried his mantle, went ahead of him like a servant, and later always recalled this incident with pride. On his return, said Abu Ishaq : " I never came to a town or a spot without finding one of my pupils holding a distinguished position there." He had a cheerful disposition and a kindly face. He never married, but called his pupils his children. On earthly good he placed no value, and so generous was he to the poor that he sometimes went without necessary food and clothing. By

reason of his generosity, which always kept him in indigent circumstances, he could not even make the pilgrimage to Mekka. He died in A.H. 476. (Ibn Khallikan, No. 5; Vol. I, p. 9 of the Eng. translation. Abulfeda, Vol. III, 249.)

His writings: (1) *Classes Jurisconsultorum Biblioth-Escurial. No. 1848, Biblioth., Lugdun, Bat. No. 633. Herbelot. Tabaqat-al-Fuqaha, Tabaqat-al-Shafiah, Shirazi.* Abu Abdullah Mohamed Bin Abdul Malik al-Hamadani (d. 521 A.H.) wrote a supplement to this work. (2) *Excitatio*, dealing with the entire range of Jurisprudence. This work was begun at the beginning of Ramadan 452 and concluded in Shaban of the following year. *Biblioth., Bodleian.* No. 260. Herb. *Tanbih fil Fiqh.* There are more than thirty commentaries on this work. Among them may be mentioned *Ambiguitas Excitationis* of Abdul Hasan Mohamed Bin Al-Mubarik Ibn al-Khill (d. 522 A.H.); *Amotio adulterationis obscuritatum Excitationis* in two volumes by Ahmad Bin Kashasib-al-Dizmari (d. 643 A.H.). There are others such as by Abul Fadl Sharaf-ud-din Ahmad Bin Musa Ibn Yunus (Ibn Khal. I, 90, d. A.H. 622) *Bodleian, No. 212, 238,* Herbel, *Sharh-ul-Tanbih,* by Majd-ud-Din Abu Bakr Ibn Ismail Bin Abd-al-Aziz al-Sankaluni, (d. 740 A.H.), *Bodleian, No. 210;* by Muwaffiq-ud-din Abul Alai Hamza Bin Yusuf al-Hamawi (d. 670 A.H.), by Ali Ibn al-Nafis, an Egyptian physician (d. 687 A.H.).

(3) *Philosophia Splendens,* a work on Logic and Metaphysics, *Lugdun Bat.* N. 847. A commentary on it by Abul-Najib al-Suhrawardi (19) *Lugdun, Bat.* No. 848. (4) *Fides Majorum,* a work on Logic. *Paris, No. 440/3,* Herbel. *Akidat, Shirazi;* commented upon in a poem by his pupil Abul Hasan Mohamed Bin Abdul-Malik al Keraji (d. 532 A.H.). (5) *Concinnans,* on Jurisprudence, prepared at the dictation of his teacher Abul Tayyib during the years 455-469. Commentaries on it are by Abu Ishaq Ibrahim Bin Mansur of Egypt—called Iraqi by reason of his residence in Iraq (d. 596 A.H.); by Othman Ibn Darbaf (145); by Ismail Bin Mohamed al-Hadhrami (d. 677 A.H.). *Herbel, Ibrahim Al-Shirazi, Muhaddhab.* (6) *Dicta Acuta,* on controversy,

Herb. Nekth. (7) *Adjumentum*, on the art of discussion. (8) *Rutilatio*, on institutions, with a commentary, *Herb. Lama.* Abu Amr Othman Ibn Abdus al Marani (d. 602 A.H.), also wrote a commentary on it in two volumes. (9) *Memoriae adminiculum interrogatorum*, on contentious principles between Shafi'i and Hanafi, *Herb-Tadhkerat.* (10) *Perspicacem Reddens*, on Institutions, with a commentary. (11) *Explicatio.* (12) *Fontes.* (13) *Capita quaestionum.* (14) *Monitum doctorum.* (15) *Aditus ad questiones fundamentalis*, *Paris*, No. 359.

Muayyed al-Mulk, son of Nidham al-Mulk, appointed Abu Sa'd al-Motawalli as successor of Abu Ishaq, but the father, who was then in Ispahan, disapproved of this selection and, before the end of the year, appointed Ibn Sabbagh who had earlier acted as the first professor at this institution.

But, by reason of long distance, Nidham-ul-Mulk could not be of much use to Sabbagh for, in the following year (477 A.H.), we find him retiring in favour of Motawalli. Possibly this was due to bad eye-sight, for in his last years he became totally blind. Ibn Sabbagh, anxious to press his claims, proceeded to Ispahan. Nidham-al-Mulk received him with open arms, and even consented to build a special college for him, but he died three days after his return to Baghdad.

2. Abu Sa'd Abdul Rahman Bin Mohamed al-Motawalli was born at Nisabur, in A.H. 426 or 427. At Merv he studied under Abul Kasim Abdul Rahman al-Furani (195); at Merv-al-Rud under Husain Bin Mohamed (196), and at Bukhara under Abu Sahl Ahmad Bin Abdullah al-Anburudi (197). He was a distinguished jurist. He died on the 10th of Shawwal, 478 A.H. (Ibn Khallikan, No. 373).

His writings: (1) *Supplementum descriptionis clarae*, that is to say, supplement to the *descriptio clara* of his master Furani, on Shafai'i Law. By his death he was unable to finish it but several—such as Abul Fatuh Asad al-Ijli (Ibn Khallikan, I, 191, d. 600 A.H.)—have completed it. Ibn Khallikan, No. 89. Haji Kh. No. 3. (2) A small but very useful compendium *de statutis*. (3) A small work *De fundamentis religionis*.

3. Abu Nasr Abdul Sayed Bin Mohamed Ibn al-Sabbagh was born in A.H. 400 at Baghdad, where he studied under Abu Bakr Ahmad Bin Mohamed al-Khowarezemi al-Berqani (198), and Abu Faraj Mohamed Bin Abdullah al-Kharjushi al-Shirazi. As a scholar he enjoyed as great a reputation as Abu Ishaq Shirazi. In fact, in the knowledge of Sufistic dogmas and tenets he even excelled him. He died in 477 A.H. (Ibn Khallikan, No. 410. Abulfeda, Ann., Vol. III, 257).

His writings: (1) *Universalis*, one of the most prized books of the Shafi'ites on Jurisprudence. (2) *Perfectus*, on contentious questions between the Shafi'ites and the Hambalites. (3) *Quod sufficit interroganti.* (4) *Memoriæ adminiculum docti et via salutis.* (5) *Subtilitates fidet*, on the principles of Jurisprudence. (6) *Articuli studii de cognitione Imamorum*, on the legitimate succession of the true Imams. (7) *Expositio cognitionis discriminis inter vivos doctos urbium nobilium* (*Haji kh.* Nr. 794 *Herbelot*, Sabbagh).

4. Abu Bakr Mohamed Bin Ali Bin Hamid al-Shashi was born in A.H. 397, at Shash in Transoxiana, where he was trained by Imam Abu Bakr al-Sanji. He then settled down at Ghazna, where he was so much esteemed and loved that it was a great grief to the people when Nidham-ul-Mulk summoned him to Herat and eventually appointed him professor at the Nidhamiya. He wrote many books and died in A.H. 485.

5. Abu Yusuf Yaqub Bin Sulaiman Bin Daud al-Isfaraini had Abul Tayyib at Tabari (194) as his teacher. He died in Dhul-Qada 488.

His writings: (1) *Liber Mostadhheri de descriptione clara* (written) for the Caliph Mustadhhir on the work of Furani. (2) *Stipulationes judiciorum*.

6. Abu Abdullah al-Hosain Bin Ali at-Tabari was born in A.H. 418 at Amol in Tabaristan. He heard Traditions, according to the *Sahih* of Muslim, from Abdul Ghafir al Farisi, and was trained in Jurisprudence by Nasir al-Umari (199) at Khorasan, and by Kadi Abul Tayyib at Tabari at Baghdad. Then he placed himself under Abu Ishaq Shirazi, and became one of his most distinguished pupils. He died in Sha'ban 498.

His writings: *Dispositio*, a rare work in five stout volumes. According to Subki it is a commentary on the *Descriptio clara* of Furani.

7. Abu Mohamed Abdul Wahhab Bin Mohamed al-Faresi was born in A.H. 414. In 483 he came to Baghdad, where he joined the just-mentioned Hosain Tabari. For a whole year he and Tabari lectured at the Nidhamiya every alternate day. Then they parted company, because Abdul Wahhab was accused of separatism, of tampering with and falsifying Traditions. Later he enjoyed a better reputation. He died in Ramadan 500 at Shiraz.

His writings: (1) *A commentary on the Qur'an* into which he interwove 100,000 verses. (2) *Chronicon jurisconsultorum*. He is said to have written seventy books.

8. Abu Bakr Mohamed Bin Mansur at Tamimi al-Sam'ani, father of the historian and genealogist, was

born at Merv in A.H. 466. In 497 he returned from pilgrimage to Baghdad, where he continued to hear Traditions. Thereupon he became preacher at the Nidhamiya, and even delivered lectures on Traditions. Then after residing for some time in Ispahan, he returned to Khorasan, and held the position of preacher at Merv until 509 A.H., when he brought his two sons to school at Nisabur. He himself apparently returned to Merv, but died shortly after (Safar 510). He was reckoned one of the most distinguished preachers. (Ibn Khallikan No. 406.)

9. Abu Hamid Mohamed Bin Mohamed al-Ghazali was born in A.H. 450 at Tus in Khorasan. He received his first instruction from Ahmad al-Radhkani, then he studied at Nisabur under Imam-ul-Haramain, and eventually joined the band of learned men whom Nidham-ul-Mulk had gathered round him. Of this band Ghazali was the most distinguished. In recognition of his attainments he was given a professorship at the Nidhamiya—an appointment which he took up in 484 A.H. Four years after he made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and thence proceeded to Damascus, where he remained for ten years, engaged in writing books. He then visited Jerusalem and Alexandria, and returned to Tus. For a considerable time after his return he taught at the Nidhamiya at Nisabur. He then retired, and dedicated the rest of his days to a life of contemplation at Tus. There he established a cloister for the Sufis and a school of advanced learning, and gave himself up entirely to literary activities. He won the honourable title of *Zain-ul-Din*, "Ornament of religion," and *Hujjat-ul-Islam*, "Proof of Islam." He died on Tuesday, the 14th Jamada II,

A.H. 505, in the portion of the town of Tus called Thaberan. ' Ghazali ' means a seller of woollen stuff; but some say that he was called Ghazali because of Ghazala, a small town in the neighbourhood of Tus. (*Ibn Khallikan*, No. 599, *Abulfeda*, III, 375. *Herb. Abu Hamed, Mohamed Ghazali.*)

Most of his numerous works are philosophical. Some of them, according to Herbelot, are mystical, and of these some have been foisted upon him. Possibly the mystical title of some is responsible for this opinion.

(1) *Foramen luminum*, a treatise based on Sura 24 of the Qur'an, and directed against Greek philosophy. It is in three chapters: (*a*) God is the light of Heaven and of Earth; (*b*) On the lights of the second degree; (*c*) On the saying of Mohamed regarding the seventy veils of God. *Lugdun. Bat.* No. 621. *Paris*, Nr. 884, 4. *Bodleian* Nr. 102. A Hebrew translation, with some additions, is by R. Isaac Bar Joseph of *Fess*. Bodleian, Codd. hebr. Nr. 325.2, 392.6. (2) *Expansum* is likewise a compendium of the *Terminus* of the Imam-ul-Haramain, on Mohamedan Law, according to Shafi'ite principles. Escurial, Nr. 1125. (3) *Medium*, an interpretation of some of the passages of *Expansum*, together with supplements from the juristic work *Descriptio clara* of Abul-Qasim Abd-al-Rahman Bin Mohamed al-Furani (d. A.H. 461). Boedleian, Nr. 233 and Tom. II, Nr. 82. A number of commentaries have been written on this book, such as *Ambiens*, in eight volumes, by his disciple Mohamed Bin Yahya al-Nisaburi killed in A.H. 548 (39); *Obscuritates*, by Abu Amr Othman Bin Abd-al-Rahman Ibn al-Salah-al-Shahrzuri (d. 643 A.H.); by Ahmad Bin Abdullah Ibn al-Asad al-Halabi, (d. 662 A.H.) in ten volumes; *Emendatio*, by Abu Zakariya Yahya al-Nawawi (d. 677 A.H.); *Quaesitum*, in forty volumes, by Najm-al-Din Abul-Abbas Ahmad Bin Mohamed Ibn Rifa (d. 710 A.H.); by Najmuddin Ahmad Bin Mohamed al-Kamuli (d 727 A.H.). (4) *Contractum*, on some questions of Law, *Herb. Vagiz*. On this the commentaries are: *Dictata de Medio et contracto*, by Asad Bin Mah-

mud al-Ijli (d. 600 A.H.); by Imad-al-Din Ibn Yunus (202), by Mohamed Bin Ali (d. 622 A.H.) in eight volumes; by Abul-Qasim Abdul Karim Bin Mohammed al-Rafai' (d. 624 A.H.). The titles of these three works Nrs. 2 to 4, Ghazali borrowed from the three similarly named books of Abul-Hasan Ali Bin Ahmad al-Wahidi (d. 468 A.H.). (5) *Responsa ad silentium redigentia,* compare the following, *Haji Khal,* Nr. 99. (6) *Vivificatio doctrinarum religionis,* a considerable work on religion in four parts: (*a*) Concerning holy rites; (*b*) Concerning customs and practices in social circles; (*c*) Concerning passions and vices; (*d*) Concerning virtues. Every part is divided into ten chapters. *Herb. Ihya; Haji Khal* Nr. 171; *Lugdun, Bat.* Nr. 645; *Bodleian,* Nr. 287, 288, 290, 295, 297, 298; *Escurial,* Nr. 712; *Toderini,* p. 27. To explain passages of difficulty in this book Ghazali himself wrote *Dictata de locis vivificationis obscuris*—also known under the title: *Responsa ad silentium redigentia ad quaestiones obstupefacientes,* Nr. 5. Abridgments of this are by his brother * Ahmad (d. 520 A.H.) under the title: *Medulla libri vivificationis,* Bodleian, Nr. 324, Escurial, Nr. 727; a bigger and a smaller abridgment, of which one bears the title: *Spiritus libri vivificationis,* by Abul Abbas Ahmad Bin Musa Bin Yunus al-Mausili or Abul Fazl Ahmad Bin Musa al-Arbeli (d. 622 A.H.); Herb. Abulfadhl, Arbel, Bodleian, Nr. 121-2. (This is again abridged by Mahmud al-Khowarizmi, Escurial, 1562); the best abridgment is by Shams-al-din Mohamed Bin Ali al-Ajluni (d. 813 A.H.). There is another by Jalal-al-Din Abd-al-Rahman Bin Abu Bakr al-Suyuti (d. 911 A.H.).

Despite its universally acknowledged worth, there has been no lack of opponents who have written against this book. Herb., *Mostaki, Tashid.* Others have tried to correct some mistakes in this work, such as Abul Faraj Ibn Jauzi in his book *Confusio diaboli* and *informatio vivorum de erroribus vivificationis.* Finally there are yet others who have written special treatises dealing with the Traditions occurring therein. (7) *Mores honesto-*

* This brother is also the author of *Thesaurus scientiae demonstrationis,* which Herbelot, in the *Dakhirat,* attributes to Abu Hamid.

rum e liberatio a malis, Haji Kh., Nr. 272; Herb. *Akhlaq*. (8) *Quadrangenariæ*, a portion of the work *Gemmæ Corani*, Nr. 28, that is to say, forty Traditions on the fundamental principles of religion, which Ghazali permitted his pupils to set down in book form.

(9) *Mysteria literarum et vocum*, Haji Kh., Nr. 647. (10) *Arcana Commerciorum Socialium*, Haji Kh., Nr. 658. (11) *Splendor fontium*, Haji Kh., Nr. 789. (12) *Modus rectus de fide*, Haji Kh., Nr. 1042, Escurial, Nr. 1268-2, 1463 and 1481. A commentary on it by an unknown person, Escurial, Nr. 1464. (13) *Propulso plebis a doctrina metaphysices*, Haji Kh., Nr. 1129. (14) *Dictata*, compare Nr. 6. (15) *Apologia secretorum quæ in generibus latent*. Haji Kh., Nr. 1299. Instead of *In generibus* (according to Casiri *Biblioth*, Nr. 1125) the better reading perhaps would be *In libro vivificationis*. (16) *Sodalis in solitudine*, Haji Kh., Nr. 1463, Herb. Ghazali. (17) *O mi fili*, warning and advice to a young friend whom the author addresses, " O my son!" Haji Kh., Nr. 1595. *Leipziger Rathsbibl*. British Museum, Nr. 9678. *Dresden*, Nr. 172.7; 201.4. The Turkish Amir Mustapha Bin Ali, known as the poet Ali, has translated this treatise into Turkish, under the title of *Munus proborum*. Cat. of MSS. in Munich in the *Jahrb. der Lit.*, Vol. 47, Nr. 205,1. (18) *Initium termini*, on the excellence of sciences, their utility, the rules to be observed in dealing with them, and also their moral and religious aspects. Munich MSS. Nr. 77. British Museum, Nr. 9495. (19) *Expeditio de theologia mystica*, *Escurial*, Nr. 1561. (20) *Expositio confessionis fidei sunnitarum*, on the confession of faith—' There is no God but Allah and Mohamed is his apostle.' Bodleian, Tom. II, Nr. 68. (21) *Prostratio philosophorum*, philosophical treatise directed against Plato, Aristotle, Hippokrates and Galen. Toderini, p. 24. This book caused a great sensation, and was especially dealt with by the Jews. Hebrew translations are: Paris, Cod. Hebr., Nr. 334, 5; 345, 1. *Lugdun Bat*. Cod. Hebr., Nr. 35. The translator, perhaps, is R. Moses Ben Joshua of Spain, who is also said to have written an Arabic commentary on it. Escurial, Nr. 628. In his work

Prostratio prostrationis, Abul Walid Mohammad Bin Ahmad Ibn Rushd (Averroes, d. 595 A.H.) stepped forward as an opponent of Ghazali and a defender of the Greeks. Of this the Hebrew translations are: Paris, Cod. Hebr., Nr. 508,2; Lugdun. Cod. Hebr., Nr. 6, 15, 36 and 38, by R. Kelonimos Ben David, Herb. Tohfat. (22) *De unitate dei*, Herb. *Kitab Tauhid.* (23) *Gemmœ Corani*, compare No. 8. (24) *Jus et veritas*, Herb. *Kitab haqq*. (25) *Veritates de natura optima*, of God and his attributes. Brit. Mus., Nr. 9510. Perhaps the Hebrew commentary, Paris, Cod. Hebr., No. 348, belongs to this work. (26) *Solutio mysteriorum de clavibus thesaurorum*, explanation of three inverted alphabets for the discovery of hidden treasures. Herb. Ghazali, Hall. Paris, Nr. 1200. (27) *Sigillum*, on the mysteries of the Arabic alphabet. Herb. *Khatem*. A commentary on it, Paris, Nr. 1187. Herb. *Mostauageb*. (28) *Purifactum*, on Jurisprudence, perhaps a second title or a part of Nr. 4, with which it always stands linked. (29) *Aurum obryzon*, on important passages of the Qur'an. Herb. *Dhahab*. (30) *Arcanum arcanorum de detegendo lumine*, on the true path of virtue and the charms of a solitary life, Escurial, Nr. 759, 3. (31) *Traditiones*, on the manners and habits of Mohamed, Lugdun, Nr. 175. (32) *Commentarius in directionem*, on Institutions, Bodleian, Nr. 236. (33) *Commentarius de nominibus dei* Escurial, Nr. 628, 4. (34) *Preces diei veneris*, Lugdun, Nr. 484. (35) *Decisiones*, on 190 juridical questions, without order; also another, a smaller collection. (36) *Janua scientiarum*, Paris, Nr. 915. The contents of the seven chapters noted here seem to contradict the statement of Herbelot, that this work is a commentary on the Vivificatio, Nr. 6. (37) *Distinctio probi et improbi*, a work on Politics, says Herbelot, *Kitab Alfaraq*. (38) *De cognitione dei*, Lugdun, Nr. 244. (39) *Regula legati*, Herb. Canun. (40) *Statica*, a book of morals in thirty-two chapters, Escurial, Nr. 628, 3. Hebrew translation by R. Abraham Bar Shemuel Hallevi Ben Chasdai, Bodleian, Cod. Hebr., Nr. 392-5. Paris Cod. Hebr., Nr. 247, 248. (41) *Fundamenta articulorum fidei*, on metaphysics, Herb., *Qavaed*. (42) *Expositio scientiarum vitœ futurœ*, Bodleian, Nr. 304,2. The real title of this work is *Mar-*

garita pretiosa, Bodleian, Nr. 155,2. (43) *Khyma felicitatis*, Persian, the true path to happiness, Paris, Codd. Pers., Nr. 13, 14, 15, 16. Dresden, Nr. 4, 87, 225, where the contents of the four books are noted. Fragment of a Turkish translation, Dresden. Nr. 15. (44) *Fontes*. Haji Kh., Nr. 574 says that the author follows here Imam-al-Haramain's *Rationes controversiarum*. According to Ibn Shohba he later wrote another book on controversy—*Munitio fontium*. (45) *Lapis lydius suaestionis*. (46) *Aditus viatorum ad aedes regias*, dealing with asceticism, in four parts. Escurial, Nr. 728, 759. (47) *Speculum spirituum*, concerning ethical matters, conjecturally assigned to Ghazali, Bodleian, Nr. 349. (48) *Eligens*, on Institutions: one of his last works, completed on the 6th of Moharram, 503 A.H., Gotha. Nr. 171. A certain Al-Khowarizmi made an abridgment of it, *Proventus e doctrina fundamentorum*, Paris, Nr. 408. There is a commentary on this abridgment by Shams-ad-Din Mohamed Bin Mahmud al-Ispahani. There is yet another abridgment by Ibn Bent al Iraqi. Hebr. *Mahsul*. (49) *Opiniones aliter sententibus propositæ*, answers to some questions of theology. Paris, Nr. 884, 3. (50) *Scala piorum*, concerning ascetic matters. Paris, Nr. 804-5. (51) *Cognitiones intellectuales et medulla sapientiæ divinæ*, Bodleian, Nr. 133. Paris, Nr. 884, 1, where the contents of five chapters are given. (52) *Modulus scientiæ*. (53) *Propositiones philosophorum*, with special reference to Greek philosophers. Paris, Nr. 882, Escurial, Nr. 1100. Hebrew translations with commentaries, Bodleian, Codd. Hebr., No. 369,6; 396, 1 and 5, 404, 405. Paris, Nr. 344, 346, 247. Lugdun, Codd. Hebr., Nr. 45. (54) *Molimen summum, de nominibus dei*. (55) *Mansiones viatorum*, concerning ascetic matters with a commentary by Abu Ismail Abdulla al-Hirawi. Escurial, Nr. 730. (56) *Electum* and (57) *Selectum*—on the art of disputation. (58) *Liberator ab errore*, against Greek philosophers in so far as they do not agree with the religion of Mohamed, Paris, Nr. 884, 2. Lugdun, Nr. 953. Escurial, Nr. 691. Herb. *Monkedh*. (59) *Via recta adoratorum ad paradisum*—the last work of Ghazali, which he dictated to his favourite students, and which has been edited by one

of them, Abdul Malik Bin Abdullah. Bodleian, Nr. 104, 112, 155. Dresden, Nr. 206. (60) *Admonitio regum*, originally in Persian, and dedicated to Sultan Mohamed Bin Malik Shah. It exists only in an Arabic translation of an unknown person and bears the title of *Margaritæ fusæ*. Paris, Nr. 894, Bodleian, Nr. 304, 332, 341, Tom II, Nr. 102, where the contents are given. (61) *Lumen candelæ, de expositione sanctitatis diei veneris*. Lugdun, Nr. 483. (62) *Rubini scientiarum*, 360 controversial points concerning the arrangement of thirty sciences which are set out in Hammer's Handsch., Nr. 1. (63) *Indicium solo sensu nixum et mysteria literarum*. Haji Kh., Nr. 762. (64) *De vitæ regimine muslimi, sive responsio ad questionem amici, quomodo quis salvus fiat in Islamo*. Lugdun, Nr. 416. (65) *De variis religionibus et sectis*. Paris, Nr. 368. (66) *Sapientia dei in creatis*, Paris, Nr. 422. (67) *Astronomiæ compendium*, Paris, Nr. 1217. (68) Paris, Codd. Pers., Nr. 38. *Opus mysticum, de amore divino*. (69) *Physica*, Hebrew, Paris, Codd. Hebr., Nr. 245, 13. (70) *De animarun ante et post obitum statu. Escurial*, Nr. 784,3. (71) *De astrorum motu et natura cet.* Escurial, No. 937. (72) *De jure canonico, Escurial*, Nr. 1125.

10. Abul-Hasan Ali Bin Mohamed Imad-al-Din at-Tabari, called al-Kiya al-Harrashi, was born in Dhul-Qada 450, in Tabaristan, where he received his earliest education. In his eighteenth year he came to Nisabur and attended the lectures of Imam-al-Haramain. After he had completed his studies he went as teacher to Baihaq, but soon after he entered as Kadi the service of the Seljukian Barkiyaruq and in Dhul-Hijjah 493 became the first Professor at the Nidhamiya—a position which he retained up to his death, Thursday, the 15th Moharram 504. The Sharif Abu Talib al-Zainabi and the chief kadi Abul-Hasan al-Damighani—then the leaders of the Hambalites in Baghdad with whom Al-Kiya often had controversies—attended his funeral. He was buried in

the sepulchre of Abu Ishaq Shirazi. (Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 441, Abulfeda Annal, III., 373.)

11. Abu Bakr Mohamed Bin Ahmad al-Shashi (with the title of Fakhr-al-Islam) was born in Moharram 429 at Mayyafareqin, where he received his first instructions under the Kadi Abu Mansur al Tusi and Abu Abdullah Mohamed al-Kazeruni. He then studied at Baghdad under Shaikh Abu Ishaq Shirazi, and attended Ibn Sabbagh's lectures on *Universalis*. Thereafter he went to Nisabur and distinguished himself in 'discussions' which were presided over by Imam-al-Haramain. In Sha'ban 504 he was appointed first Professor at the Nidhamiya at Baghdad, and remained so until his death, Saturday, the 25th Shawwal 507. (Ibn Khall, Nr. 600. Abulfeda, III, 383.)

His writings: (1) *Ornatus doctorum*, on the Shafiite system with special reference to the views of the other Imams. He wrote this book in two volumes for the Caliph al-Mustadhhir, and received on that account the nickname of *Mustadhhari*. (2) *Sanans*, a commentary on the *Universalis* of Ibn al-Sabbagh in twenty volumes. (3) *Fidus*, of the same size as the *Medium* of Ghazali. (4) *Incitatio ad scientiam*. (5) *Fides*, a compendium.

12. Abu Nasr Mohamed Bin Hibatullah Bin Yahya Bin Bendar Bin Mamid, *i.e.*, Mohamed, studied under Abü Ishaq Shirazi, and became an underteacher at the Nidhamiya. He later went to Mekka, and died in A.H. 516, at the age of 74.

13. Abu Nasr Abd-al-Rahim Bin Abd-al-Karim Bin Hawazin al-Qoshairi al-Nisaburi was educated by his father, but later he studied under Imam-al-Haramain. The Imam-al-Haramain so highly esteemed his

learning that he quoted him in his *Terminus*, despite the fact that he was very young and still his pupil. When he returned from the pilgrimage to Baghdad he stepped forward as a preacher. Among those that listened to his discourses were Abu Ishaq Shirazi and other learned men of the day. His fame soon secured him the position of Preacher at the Nidhamiya, but, after his second pilgrimage, he so violently attacked the Hambalites in his preachings that it came to a downright fight, in which many of both parties lost their lives. One of the sons of Nidham-ul-mulk at last restored peace, and, to make it enduring, Nidham-ul-mulk directed Abd-al-Rahim to return to his native town, Nisabur. The order was obeyed, and Abd-al-Rahim continued to teach and to preach there until his death on the 28th Jamada II, 514. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 405.)

14. Abul Fatuh Ahmad Bin Mohamed al-Ghazali at Tusi, brother and successor of Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. Like his brother he too led a quiet, contemplative life. He died at Qazwin in A.H. 520. (Ibn Khall., No. 37, Abulfeda, Annal, III., 427.)

His writings: (1) *Medulla vivificationis*, an abridgment of the *Vivificatio scientiarum religionis* of his brother. (2) *Thesaurus scientiæ contemplationis*.

15. Abul Fath Ahmad Bin Ali Ibn Barhan was born at Baghdad in Shawwal, 479. He attended the lectures of Ghazali, Shashi and Al-Kiya Harrashi, and so thoroughly distinguished himself by his knowledge of the fundamental principles and special branches of the sciences that his knowledge and acuteness in solving difficult problems became a proverb with the people. Only

for a month he lectured at the Nidhamiya. He died in A.H. 520 or probably in A.H. 518. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 38.)

16. Abul Fath Asad Bin Abu Nasr Majd-al-din al-Mihani was educated at Merv under Abul-Muzzafar al-Sam'ani (200) and Abu Abdullah al-Forawi. He then went to Ghazna, where he made a great name for himself. From Ghazna he came to Baghdad, and twice held a professorship at the Nidhamiya : first, from A.H. 507 to 18th Shaban, 513, and again in A.H. 517, from Sha-'ban to Dhul-qada, when he betook himself to the army of the Seljukian Sultan Mahmud, who gave him the position of an ambassador. As such he visited Merv, Baghdad and Hamadan, where he died in A.H. 527 at the age of sixty. From Mihan, a place in the district of Khaberan between Sarkhas and Abiwerd in Khorasan, he is called Mihani. Others speak of him as Maihani. (Ibn Khall. Nr. 88.)

17. Abu Mansur Sa'id Bin Mohamed Ibn-al-Rezzab, *i.e.*, son of a rice-dealer, was born in A.H. 462. Motawalli (2), Shashi (11), Abu Hamid Ghazali (9), Al-Kiya Harrashi (10) and Mihani (16) were his teachers. He became the chief of the Shafi'ites of his time. He died in Dhul-Hijjah, 539.

18. Abul-Waqt Abd-al-Awwal Bin Abdullah Isa al-Shajari was born in 458 at Herat, where his father had settled. He specially busied himself with Traditions. On the 21st Shawwal, 552, he came to Baghdad, and taught the *Sahih* of Bukhari at the Nidhamiya, where Abu Jafar Mohamed Bin Hibatullah, al-Sufi, later the teacher of Ibn Khallikan, heard his lectures. Abul-

Waqt lived at the Firuz Inn where he died on the 6th Dhul-Qada, 553. (Ibn Khall, Nr. 414.)

19. Abul-Najib Abd-al-Qahir Bin Abdullah al-Sohrawerdi was born in Safar 490 at Sohrawerd. He was trained under Mihani and Al Ghazali at the Nidhamiya. He lived a solitary, contemplative life at first, but later he came more and more into evidence. He established a professorial chair for himself, and by his lectures led many back to a better religious life. In Moharram 545 he was appointed Professor at the Nidhamiya, but he gave up his position in Rajab, 547, and set out travelling. In 557 A.H. *via* Mosul he came to Jerusalem, and thence bent his steps towards Damascus, but on account of hostilities having broken out afresh with the Crusaders, he could only reach that town under the protection of Nur-al-Din Mahmud. During his short stay at Damascus he appears to have lectured in a special hall which later was converted into '*Collegium Nagibicum.*' It was probably named after him. He returned to Baghdad where he died on Friday, 12th Jamada II, 563.

His writings: (1) *Institutio novitiorum*. Haji Kh., Nr. 318. (2) A Commentary on the *Philosophia splendens* of Abu Ishaq Shirazi (1).

20. Yusuf Bin Abdullah Bin Bendar was born in 490 at Damascus, where his father had come from Meragha. With several others he proceeded to Baghdad to hear the lectures of Mihani. He so distinguished himself that he became the head of the Shafi'ites in Iraq and first Professor at the Nidhamiya. He was even given a special room to preach in, but later he gave up preaching. He died in Shawwal, 563.

21. Mohamed Bin Hibatullah Bin Abdullah, called al-Sadid al-Salamasi, was under-teacher at the Nidhamiya, and had under him some distinguished pupils such as Imad-al-Din Mohammed Bin Yunus, his brother Kamal-al-Din Musa (202) and Sharaf-al-Din Abul Muzaffar Mohammed. He died in Shaban, 574. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 605.)

22. Abul-Berkat Abd-al-Rahman Bin Mohamed al-Anbari (born in Rabi II, 513) was educated at the Nidhamiya under Abu Mansur B. Rezzaz. He learnt Arabic grammar and language under Abu Mansur al-Jawaliqi (203) and Abul Saadat Hibatullah al-Shajari (204). He, himself, in his turn, lectured on Grammar at the Nidhamiya, but during the last years of his life he lived in retirement, giving himself up entirely to study and prayer. He died in Sha'ban, 577. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 377. Herbel, *Anbar.*)

He is said to have written over a hundred works. Among them: (1) *Mysteria linguæ arabicæ*, a book useful and easily understood, on Grammar. Haji Kh., Nr. 654. (2) *Libra*, on Grammar. (3) *Oblectamentum cordatorum de classibus nobilium.* (4) *Apologia*, on controversy. (5) *Historia grammaticorum.* (6) *Collectio de polemica.* (7) *Collectio vocabulorum.* (8) *Commentarius in Hamasam.* (9) *Commentarius in divanum Motenebbii.* (10) *Chronicon Anbaræ.*

23. Abul-Mahasin Yusuf Bin Rafi Bin Tamim Baha-al-Din Ibn Shaddad al-Asadi (born on the 10th of Ramadhan, 539, at Mausil) early lost his father, and was brought up by Shaddad, his grandfather on the maternal side, and was thus named after him. In his youth he learnt the Qur'an by heart, and when Abu Bakr Yahya Bin Sa'dun al-Qurtubi came to Mausil he attach-

ed himself to him, and from him learnt, for eleven long years, Traditions and interpretations of the Qur'an. Among his teachers were also Abul-Fadl Abdullah Bin Ahmad al-Tusi; Abul-Reda Asad Bin Abdullah Shahrzuri; Abu Mohamed Abdullah Bin Mohamed al-Ashiri al-Sanhaji; and Abu Bakr Mohamed Ibn al-Hayyani, who lectured on Traditions and with whom he discussed the works of Bukhari, Muslim, Daud and Tirmidhi on the subject. After he was fully drilled in the sciences he repaired to Baghdad, and soon after his arrival there obtained the appointment of an under-teacher at the Nidhamiya, along with al-Sadid al-Salamasi. During the four years that he acted as such, Ahmed Bin Nasr al-Shashi, and, after him, Abul Khair Ahmad al-Qazwini, were the first Professors. In A.H. 569 he returned to Mausil, and became professor at the academy founded by Abul-Fadl Mohammed al Shahrzuri (205). In A.H. 583 he made the pilgrimage to Mekka, and also visited Jerusalem and Hebron. He then came to Damascus, and in Jamada, 584, entered the service of Sultan Salah-al-din, who offered him a vacant professorship at Cairo; but Ibn Shaddad refused this offer. Thereupon he became Kadi to the army, and the court at Jerusalem. After the death of the Sultan in 589 A.H., he went to his son Malek-al-Dhahir at Haleb, who appointed him Kadi there. He continued in this appointment under the Sultan's successor Al-Malik al-Aziz. He had an annual income of 100,000 Dirhams, and as he had neither children nor close relatives he spent his fortune on building an academy; for learning, then, at Haleb, was at a very low ebb. This academy stood in the neighbourhood of the Gate of Iraq, opposite to the Academia Nuria, and was

opened in A.H. 601. Not far from there he built a school for the teaching of Traditions,* and between the two a chapel where he wished to be buried. This chapel had a door and a lattice window in the direction of each of these institutions, to enable one to see both the buildings across the chapel.

By these institutions learning was once more revived. It was at this academy that Ibn Khallikan studied in A.H. 627.

His father was very well-known to Ibn Shaddad. In A.H. 629 Al-Malik-al-Aziz sent him as ambassador to Egypt, to fetch for him the daughter of Malik al-Kamil Bin al-Adil. When, at the end of the year, he returned to Haleb with her Al-Malik al-Aziz was already dead, and the Atabek Toghrul had taken possession of the Government. Nowhere finding a friendly reception, Ibn Shaddad kept to himself in his house. After a short illness he died of sheer old age, on Wednesday, the 14th Safar, 632, and was buried in the chapel founded by him. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 852. Abulfeda, IV, p. 409.)

His writings: (1) *Vita Saladini*, edited by A. Schultens. Recently translated into English. (2) *Refugium judicum in difficultate judiciorum*, in two volumes. (3) *De præstantia belli sacri*, written when Salah-al-Din offered him the professorship, but he preferred military service. (4) *Probationes judiciorum*, according to Ibn Khallikan, on Traditions from which judicial inferences have been drawn. According to Ibn Shuba, a commentary on the *Excitatio*, in two volumes. (5) *Epitome mirabilis*, concerning juristic matters.

* We are told that there were only two colleges specially designed for the study of the Traditions: one founded by Al-Malik al-Kamil at Cairo, A.H. 622 (A.D 1225), and the other founded at Damascus by Al-Malik al-Adil Nur-al-din Mahmud Ibn Zinki. Ibn Khall, Vol. I, p. 89, note (4).

24. Ahmad Bin Nasr Bin Abdullah Bin Mohamed al-Shashi was Professor at the Nidhamiya from Rabi I, 566, to the end of Rajab, 569, when he was removed.

25. Abul-Khair Ahmad Bin Ismail Bin Yusuf al-Qazwini al-Talisani was born at Qazwin in A.H. 512, where he had as his professors Mohamed Bin Yahya (39), in whose college he later became an under-teacher; Mulkdad al-Qazwini (206); and Ibrahim Bin Abd.-al-Malik al-Qazwini. From his native town he came to Baghdad, and stepped forward as a preacher, preaching every other day, alternately with the Hambalite Ibn al-Jauzi, against the Shiites. Then he became first Professor at the Nidhamiya from 569 to 580 A.H., when he returned home and died in A.H. 589 or 590.

His writings: *Muri sanctitatis*, i.e., *Paradisus* in which he has, among other things, mentioned sixty-four different names for the month of Ramadan.

26. Abu Talib al-Mubarik Bin al-Mumarik-al-Karkhi, a pupil of Ibn-al-Khell. He distinguished himself by a singularly beautiful handwriting; and, in *Shikast* and *Thuluth* script, even excelled Ibn al Bawwab. His handwriting was fine, and when he wrote for any one he first split the pen he used. After Abul Khair he became first Professor at the Nidhamiya. Under him studied many distinguished pupils. He died in Dhul-qada, 585, over eighty years of age.

In his earlier life he is said to have been a wood-cutter, and his name was a household word for skill and cleverness. When wood-cutting ceased to appeal to him he applied himself to the art of calligraphy

according to Ibn al-Bawwab, until, abandoning his model, he struck out a path of his own.

27. Abul-Qasim Yahya Bin Ali Bin al-Fadl al-Baghdadi (called Ibn Fudlan) was born in 515 A.H. He studied under Abu Mansur Ibn al-Razzaz and at Nisabur under Mohamed Bin Yahya (39). Later he became Professor at Baghdad. Jurisprudence and polemics were his special lines of study. Often, indeed, he had discussions with al-Muhayyer (28). Towards the end of his life he was paralysed, and died in Shaban 595.

28. Abul-Qasim Mahmud Bin al-Mobarik al Wasiti (called al-Muhayyer) was born in A.H. 517. He was educated at the Nidhamiya under Abu Mansur Ibn al-Rezzaz and was trained in scholasticism under Abul-Fatuh Mohamed Bin-al-Fadl-al-Isfaraini. He worked, for a time, as an under-teacher to Abul-Najib al-Sohrawerdi (19), and then went to Damascus, where the *Academia Kharujia* (VIII) was founded for him. Later he taught at Shiraz in a college also built for him. Eventually he returned to Baghdad, and became first professor at the Nidhamiya. After lecturing only for a week he was sent as ambassador to Khowarezm Shah at Ispahan. He died at Hamadan in Dhul-quada 592.

29. Abu Ali Yahya Bin al-Rebi Bin Sulaiman al-Omari al-Wasiti was born at Wasit in 528 A.H. After receiving his first instruction from his father he came to Baghdad, and joined the Nidhamiya. There he worked under Najib al-Sohrawerdi. He then went to Nisabur, where he heard Mohamed Bin Yahya. On his return to Baghdad he became under-teacher at the Nidhamiya under Ibn Fudlan, and then first professor. He died on a journey to Khorasan in Dhul-quada 606.

30. Abul Qasim Abd-al-Rahman Bin Mohamed Bin Ahmed Bin Hamdan was born in A.H. 563. He was trained under al-Muhayyer (28) at Wasit. He was a jurist and under-teacher at the Nidhamiya and died in Safar 624.

His writings: (1) A compendium of the holy laws. (2) A commentary on the *Excitatio*.

31. Abu Abdullah Mohamed Bin Yahya al-Baghdadi was born in A.H. 568. He received his first instruction from his father, Ibn Fudlan; after a tour of enquiry through Khorasan he became first professor at the Nidhamiya, and then the Chief Kadi. After he was removed from the Chief Kadiship, the first professorship at the newly-established *Academia Mustanseria* (11) was conferred upon him in Rajab 631, but he was already dead in Shawwal of that year.

32. Abdullah Bin Mohamed Bin al-Hasan Najm-al-din al-Baderia was born in Moharram, 594. He lectured at the Nidhamiya and at Aleppo, Damascus, and in Cairo, when there in his repeated journeys as an ambassador. He founded at Damascus the '*Academia Baderiaica*' (XVIII), named after him. He became the Kadi at Baghdad, but died 15 days after his appointment in Dhul-Qada 655—thus escaping the misfortunes attending the invasion of Baghdad by the Tartars. Baderaya is a town in the district of Wasit.

33. Abul-Thena Mahmud Bin Ahmed Bin Mahmud al-Zenjani was born in A.H. 573. He lectured at the Nidhamiya and Mustanseriya, and, for a long time, was Chief Kadi of Baghdad. He lost his life in the Tartar invasion of Baghdad in Moharram, 656. He wrote a commentary on the Qur'an.

34. Shams-al-Din Abul-Ma'ali Mohamed Bin Abu Bakr Bin Mohamed al-Faresi al-Aiki lectured at Rai, and then at Baghdad as professor at the Nidhamiya. He then made a journey through the Greek towns, lecturing wherever he went. At last he came to Damascus, and lectured there at the Ghazaliya. He went subsequently to Cairo and became Shaikh-ul-Islam there. He again returned to Damascus and took up his place at the Ghazaliya. He died in Ramadan, 697, in his seventieth year.

His writings: (1) A commentary on the Logic of Ibn al-Hajib. (2) A commentary on the *Via Regia* of Baidawi.

35. Mohamed Bin Abdullah Bin Mohamed al-Lakhmi al-Wasiti Abul-Fadl Mohyi-al-Din al-Aquli was born in A.H. 704. He attended the lectures of his father; became professor at the Nidhamiya and the Mustanseriya and chief of the Savants of Baghdad. He died in Ramadan, 778, and his son Ghiyath-al-Din built for him a chapel and endowed it.

36. Mohamed Bin Mohamed Bin Abdullah Abul-Mokarim Ghiyath-al-Din b. al-Aquli was born in 733 at Baghdad. He studied under his father, and, like him, became professor at the Nidhamiya and Mustanseriya and other academies. When Tamerlane came to Baghdad, he fled with Sultan Ahmed to Damascus, where Ibn Shoba made his acquaintance. With the Sultan he again returned to Baghdad, but died five months after, in Safar, 797.

His writings: (1) A commentary on the *Lucernæ* of Baghwi. (2) Forty traditions of doubtful authenticity and with inaccuracies in the chain of narrators. (3) Refutation of the Rafidites. (4) Poems.

II.—Academia Mustanseriya.

This academy was built by the Caliph Mustansir—not far from his palace on the eastern bank of the Tigris—and was opened in A.H. 631. The Caliph appointed four professors for the four main sects of Islam. Each of these professors had seventy-five students under him who had everything found for them. Abulfeda, Annal, IV, 471. Herbelot, *Madrasah*. The first Shafiite professor was Abu Abdullah Mohamed Bin Yahya (31). After him is mentioned Abul Thena Mahmud al-Zenjani (33).

37. Abu Mohamed Abdullah Bin Mohamed Bin Ali Bin Hammad Bin Thabit Jamal-al-Din Ibn-al-Oquli al-Wasiti was born in Rajab, 638. He lectured at the *Mustanseriya* for about 40 years, and was a judge from 657 A.H. to his death, a period of 71 years. He was chief of the Shafiites of Baghdad. He died in Shawwal, 728. His son (35) and his grandson (36) also lectured at the *Mustanseriya*.

" The celebrated college of the Nidhamiya was named after its founder Nidham-ul-Mulk, wazir in the time of the two Saljuk princes Alp Arslan and Malik Shah, also the friend and patron of the astronomer-poet Omar Khayyam. The college was founded in 457 (A.D. 1065) and opened two years later, being especially established for the teaching of the Shafiite School of Law. Among its more celebrated lecturers were the great theologian Ghazali and Beha-al-Din (better known as Bohadin, the biographer of Saladin), who was under-lecturer during four years in the Nidhamiya. Close to the Nidhamiya was another college called the Bahaiyah, near which again stood the hospital called the Bimaristan Tutushi, opening on the market called Sûk Tutush, which went from the Nidhamiya to the Azaj gate. A

century later, in the time of Yaqut, all these buildings were still in good repair, and from numerous incidental notices it seems clear that the Nidhamiya College stood between the Bab-al-Azaj and the Tigris bank, not very far from the Basaliyah gate of the town wall, and on the road leading to this gateway from the Gate of Degrees in the wall round the Palaces of the Caliph.

The traveller Ibn Jubayr attended prayers in the Nidhamiya on the first Friday after his arrival in Baghdad; this was in the year 581 (A.D. 1185) and he describes it as the most splendid of the thirty and odd colleges which then adorned the city of Baghdad. Already in 504 (A.D. 1110), and only a score of years after the death of Nidham-ul-Mulk, this college had been thoroughly repaired. Ibn Jubayr further reports that in his day the endowments derived from domains and rents belonging to the college amply sufficed both to pay the stipends of the professors and to keep the building in good order, besides supplying an extra fund for the sustenance of poor scholars. The Sûk or market of the Nidhamiya was one of the great thoroughfares of this quarter, and it is described as lying adjacent to Mashra'ah or Wharf, which proves that the college must have stood near the Tigris bank.

When Ibn Batutah visited Baghdad in 727 (A.D. 1327) nearly three-quarters of a century after the Mongol siege, the Nidhamiya College was still standing in good repair. He describes it as situated in the middle of the Great Market Street of East Baghdad, then generally known as the Tuesday Market, near the upper end of which stood the Mustanseriya College.

Writing a dozen years later than Ibn Batutah, Hamd-Allah, the Persian historian, briefly alludes to the Nidhamiya, which he calls the mother of the Madrasahs in Baghdad. This proves that down to the middle of the fourteenth century A.D. the college was still standing, though at the present time all vestiges of it have disappeared, as indeed appears already to have been the case in the middle of the last century, for Niebuhr found no traces of the Nidhamiya to describe in his painstaking account of the ruins in the City of Caliphs, as these still existed at the time of his visit.

Ibn Khallikan, No. 410, p. 112; No. 599, p. 114; No. 603, p. 119; No. 852, p. 131; Ibn Jubayr, 220, 231; Yaqut, 1,826; IV, 85; Ibn Batutah, 11, 108; Nuzhat, 148; Ibn-al-Athir, X, 38. *Apud* Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 297-300, Impression of 1924.

The Mustanseriya.

"Within the precincts, and, as seems probable, immediately south of the Gharabah Gate, stood the great college of the Mustanseriya. Of this college the ruins still exist, but unfortunately, as the college was only completed in 631 (A.D. 1234), no mention of it occurs in Yaqut, who had finished his great geographical dictionary shortly before this date, and therefore we do not know for certain on what grounds of the older precincts the college was actually built. Mustansir was the penultimate Caliph of the house of Abbas and the father of Mustasim whom Hulagu put to death, and this Madrasah of the Mustanseriya was founded by him with a view to eclipse the celebrated Nidhamiya College which Nidham-ul-Mulk had built nearly two centuries before.

We are told that in outward appearance, in stateliness of ornament and sumptuousness of furniture, in spaciousness and in the wealth of its pious foundations, the Mustanseriya surpassed everything that had previously been seen in Islam. It contained four separate law-schools, one for each of the orthodox sects of the Sunnis, with a professor at the head of each, who had seventy-five students (Fakih) in his charge, to whom he gave instruction gratis. The four professors each received a monthly salary, and to each of the three hundred students one gold dinar a month was assigned. The great kitchen of the college further provided daily rations of bread and meat to all the inmates. According to Ibn-al-Furat there was a library in the Mustanseriya with rare books treating of the various sciences, so arranged that the students could easily consult them, and those who wished could copy these manuscripts, pens and paper being supplied by the establisment. Lamps for the students and a due provision of olive oil for lighting up the college are also mentioned, likewise,

storage places for cooling the drinking-water; and in the great entrance-hall stood a clock announcing the appointed times of prayer, and marking the lapse of the hours by day and by night.

Inside the college a bathhouse (Hammam) was erected for the special use of the students, and a hospital (Bimaristan), to which a physician was appointed, whose duty it was to visit the place every morning, prescribing for those who were sick; and there were great store-chambers in the Madrasah provided with all requisites of food, drink, and medicine. The Caliph Mustansir himself took such interest in the work of the institution that he would hardly let a day pass without a visit of inspection; and he had caused a private garden to be laid out, with a belvedere (Manzarah) overlooking the college, whither it was his wont to come and divert himself, sitting at a window—before which a veil was hung—and which opened upon one of the college halls, so that through this window he could watch all that went on within the building, and even hear the lectures of the professors and the disputations of the students.

A century after its foundation, Ibn Batutah, who visited Baghdad in 727 (A.D. 1327), dilates on the magnificence of the Mustanseriya College, which had fortunately escaped destruction during the Mongol Siege; and he describes it as situated at the further end of the Tuesday Market, which was the commercial centre of Baghdad in his days. The law-schools in the Mustanseriya were then still frequented by students of the four orthodox Sunni sects, each sect or law-school having its separate mosque, and in the hall the professor of law gave his lectures, whom Ibn Batutah describes as 'seated under a small wooden cupola on a chair covered by a carpet, speaking with much sedateness and gravity of mien, he being clothed in black and wearing a turban; and there were besides two assistants, one on either hand, who repeated in a loud voice the dictation of the teacher.'

The Persian geographer Hamd-Allah, writing a dozen years later than Ibn Batutah, also refers to the Mustanseriya Madrasah as the most beautiful building then existing in Baghdad; and it appears to have stood intact for many centuries, for the

ruins of the college, as already mentioned, still exist, occupying a considerable space of ground immediately below the eastern end of the present Bridge of Boats,.........when Niebuhr visited Baghdad in 1750 he found that the ancient kitchen of the Mustanseriya was clearly to be recognized, being used in his day as a weighing-house; and Niebuhr copied here the inscription which gives the name and titles of the Caliph Mustansir, with the statement that this Madrasah had been completed in the year 630 (A.D. 1233). G. Le Strange, *Baghdad during the Abbasid Caliphate*, pp. 266-270.

THE KHARIJITES UNDER THE FIRST OMAYYADS.

A Historical Survey.*

I

Less than sixty years intervene between the Caliphate of Omar I and that of Walîd I, the two main periods of great Islamic conquests. In the annals of the Caliphate these were the most lively and stirring years. Then was the great war over the question of succession, beginning immediately after the death of Omar and ending with the consolidation of the Omayyad rule under Abdul Malik and his son Walid, fought out.

This war, however, broke out afresh, just a quarter of a century later, but in a somewhat different form. The war between the Omayyads and the 'Abbasids was one of a more personal character, whereas here the actors appear mostly as upholders of the principles professed by the parties. These parties arose out of the problems connected with the Caliphate. Essentially political in their drift were the so-called orthodox, allied with the Omayyads; the Shiites or *Shî'a* and the Kharijites or *Khawârij*. They stand in striking contrast with the later theological sects. Their views not infrequently overlapped,—a fact which explains the presence of the representatives of this or that sect in each and every party. Muslims of different parties later developed, indeed, their religious doctrines on their own different lines, but that is quite another matter.

* Translated from the German of Dr. Rudolf Ernst Brünnow.

Among these parties the Kharijites, with whom we are here concerned, are at once the most singular and the most interesting. To understand their trend and bearing we must enter in detail into the question of the Caliphate and the various parties which that question called into being. As is well known Mohammed left the question of succession unsettled. It was, accordingly, expected that many competitors would step forward, after his death, to claim the vacated office of the chief of the Muslim community. And, to be sure, in the very beginning two sharply opposing tendencies manifested themselves. On one side were the party of an elective Caliphate, with Omar ibn-al-Khattâb at the head; on the other were those who espoused the claims of Ali, son-in-law of the Prophet. The question thus presented itself: should the office of the Caliph be filled up by the free choice of the community or its representatives, with the restriction that only a Quraishite was eligible for it;* or was the son-in-law of the Prophet to be regarded as his legitimate heir, the Caliphate passing to his male descendant in direct line?

The party of the elective Caliphate carried the day. They chose Abu Bakr, father-in-law of the Prophet and one of his earliest supporters, as the first Caliph; Omar succeeding him according to his last will. During the eventful reigns of these first two Caliphs, who are the real founders of the Islamic Empire, the dispute regarding succession was hushed into silence. But, after the death of Omar, it was revived once again. When Abdur Rahman ibn Auf declined the offer of the Caliphate made to him by the dying Omar, the Caliph appointed a council

* The Medinites wanted their fellow townsman, the 'helper,' Sâ'd ibn Ubâda as Caliph, but they did not succeed.

of six, which was to choose one among them as his successor. This council consisted of Abdur Rahmân ibn 'Auf, Othmân ibn Affân, Ali, Zubair, Talha, Sa'd ibn Abi Waqqâs. Of these every one, save 'Abdur Rahman, the President, urged his, as the greatest right to the Caliphate. After several attempts at arriving at a decision Othmân was chosen Caliph by the casting vote of the President. Ali, who had received an equal number of votes, retired angry and embittered. A more unhappy choice they could not have made; for Othmân, an old man of weak and vacillating character, was entirely under the influence of his nearest kinsmen, and these were precisely those Quraish who had either themselves shown hostility to the Prophet, or their forbears before them. The Quraishites had, for long, been in possession of the great offices which were connected with the Ka'ba* and other quondam sanctuaries of Mekka and, until the rise of the Prophet, had enjoyed a distinctive position among the other tribes. By his innovations Mohammed had threatened their most vital interests and they, in turn, had conspired to combat him for all they were worth, but, as we know, unsuccessfully. Early, indeed, a large number of the Quraishites accepted Islam. These, as kinsmen of the Prophet, formed the most prominent element in the new community. But many others, notably those that had earlier constituted the Mekkan hierarchy, were now no better than the rest of the Arabs. Their conversion, thus, was a pure matter of policy or constraint. Though Muslim in outer seeming, they really remained heathens at heart and waited for an opportunity to overthrow Islam and regain their lost power. The election of Othmân

* See Wensinck's art. on *Ka'ba* in the *Ency. of Islam.* Tr.

offered such an opportunity to them. In the beginning the Caliph strove to follow in the footsteps of his two great predecessors, but he was not long able to withstand the pressure of his kinsmen.

The real "faithful,"—the old *Ansâr* (Helpers) and Companions (Muhâjir), were now ousted from offices which they had hitherto held to make room for the sons of the bitterest opponents of Islam. Among pious Muslims this change evoked violent indignation and secured for those that were dispossessed a warm sympathy. The discontent grew and was further intensified, for personal reasons, by the three rival candidates, 'Ali, Talha, and Zubair. There they saw the path to power. Thus a wide-spread discontent led to the murder of the aged Caliph at his own residence at Medina.

This was followed by the proclamation of Ali as Caliph. Talha and Zubair (though at first they showed opposition) soon gave in and paid homage to him. But secretly they carried on the intrigue which before had been carried on in union with Ali against Othmân. Ali was thus forced to take up arms against these two formidable opponents, whom Āisha, widow of the Prophet, had joined with her Medinite allies. At the "Battle of the Camel," where Talha and Zubair met their death, 'Ali won a complete victory over their adherents. In the meantime, in Moawiya, Governor of Syria, a new pretender arose.

For long had the discontented Quraish adopted Syria as their home, inhabited, as it was, by friendly Arab tribes. Since the appointment of Moawiya by Othmân, as Governor, the power of the Quraishites had so augmented that the great reaction against Othmân which,

in truth, was really aimed against them, passed by almost without a trace in their adopted home.

Moawiya was the son of that Abu Sufyân known as the most uncompromising foe of the Prophet. We may take it that Moawiya himself was never all-too devoted to Islam, but since Islam could not be shelved he regarded it as a means to an end,—the attainment of power. The murder of Othmân opened up an enticing prospect; for, according to the old Arab custom, he, as avenger of his kinsman, had the right and the duty to come forward against Ali regarded as the chief culprit in the conspiracy. Near the middle Euphrates, *viz.*, in the plain of Siffîn, the armies of the two rivals, Ali and Moawiya, met. Long was the decision uncertain and when Ali, at last, was on the point of victory, he was compelled by some of his supporters to accept a pact, suggested by Moawiya, whereby the matter was to be referred to the decision of two arbitrators.

Here, for the first time, the party of the Kharijites appear. 12,000 of Ali's soldiers,* dissatisfied with this pact, seceded from their companions and chose a Caliph of their own. This breach made glaringly conspicuous the position of those that had stood firm by 'Ali. Out of these grew the party of the Shiites who finally ended by deifying him. Ranged against them were the defenders of the old elective principle. Although a portion of these later lent support to Abdullah Ibn Zubair† in Hijâz, they,

* Muir's Annals of the Early Caliphate, Ch. XL. Tr.

† Son of the pretender who fell at the 'Battle of the Camel.' Madâini, Wahb ibn Jarîr and Saif are the main authorities in Tabari on the 'Battle of the Camel.' See the able summary in Wellhausen's *Proleg. zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams*, pp. 135 *et seq.* Tr.

on the whole, made peace with the Omayyad rule growing more and more powerful day by day.

These, as supporters of the State-Church, whose head naturally was the then ruler, eventually passed into the orthodox fold ; but then, as has already been observed, there was no real difference or divergence in the dogmatic conceptions of these various parties.

II

The two notable views of the Kharijites are : that every free Arab is eligible for the Caliphate and that the Caliph may be deposed by the community if he is unacceptable to it. The Kharijites stand nearest to the orthodox party, in so far as they both affirm the principle of election, in opposition to the doctrine of hereditary succession of the Shiites, with this difference that the orthodox never thought of extending to all free 'Arabs eligibility to the Caliphate. The most influential Muslims of the early times were the Quraishites. And it was to their interest that the highest office in the State should be retained for one of them. They even put into the mouth of the Prophet a saying relating thereto : " Rule belongs to the Quraish." But this was a pure invention. That among the Arabs the theory that the Caliph must be of the Quraish was never accepted, is evidenced first by the selection of Sa'd ibn Ubâda, the Medinite candidate, and secondly by the Kharijites themselves, whose views could never have seen the light on Muslim soil, if such a direction had really been given by the Prophet.

To understand this deviation from the orthodox opinion we must be quite clear about the people among whom Kharijiism had its origin.

After the conclusion of the Persian wars the largest portion of the soldiers who had fought therein, settled down in the two military colonies of Kufa and Basra, founded by the Caliph Omar. They were mostly full-blooded Arabs of the great desert tribes, impelled originally more by the hope of booty than by true religious conviction to fight the unfaithful. Loaded with wealth they returned home, where they found leisure to devote themselves more to the religious aspects of Islam. There can be no doubt that the Kharijites arose from among them. This party first made its appearance in Kufa and Basra. Almost all the Kharijites of the earlier times whose names have come down to us, belonged to the great desert tribes which were strongly represented in these towns, and of one we know for certain that it played a distinguished rôle in the Persian wars.*

And the revolt against Othmân brought home, for the first time, to these Beduins (who neither knew nor cared to know about any special sanctity of the Quraish) the thought that it was permissible to depose a Caliph acting contrary to the will of the community. But we would in no way be justified in putting that revolt down to the working of any such idea; for even if individuals

* Among the Kharijites the Tamimites were specially numerous. (*Kâmil*, particularly p. 671, 13), Hilâl ibn 'Ollafa, brother of the Kharijite Mustaurid, mentioned later on, fought in the battle of Qâdisiyya and was one of those who prided themselves on killing the Persian General Rustum. IA 3,313, *Beladhuri*, p. 259. *Cf.* Loth, *d. Classenbuch des Ibn Sa'd*, Leipzig, 1869, pp. 56, 58. It was in Basra that the Kharijites were most prominent.

did entertain such an idea, it was by no means general or powerful enough to evoke a violent revolution.

Only the accomplished fact, although it did not give birth to this idea, brought it to full consciousness. Similarly the view of the Kharijites, that it was permissible to kill a Caliph, cannot be regarded as a cause of the murder of Othmân, but rather, the murder, for the first time, suggested the question whether the killing of a Caliph was on principle permissible or not.*

It will easily be seen from what has been said that to the Beduins, averse by nature from the rule of a townsman, the thought of selecting a Caliph of their own will naturally suggest itself. The Beduin will preserve his individual freedom at all costs. The Shaikh or chief of a tribe has no other powers than those which have been conceded to him by his tribe. Extremely distasteful was it to these people who, inspite of their residence in towns, had in no way altered their original character, to have a ruler, allied to them by no close kinship, governing them despotically from a distant seat of government.

After Ali had forfeited the esteem which his relationship with the Prophet had established they felt free to follow their own impulses and to choose a Beduin as their Caliph.

The views of the Kharijites, therefore, constituted no heresy, no falling away from the original Islam. Theirs, in principle, were views just as strongly defensible as those of the orthodox. Both championed their

* The two views, that the Caliph may be killed in case of necessity, and that a slave or a non-Arab may be chosen Caliph, are to be sure of later growth. Particularly the latter view would have been impossible with the purely Arab Kharijites of the earlier times.

own peculiar conceptions of Islam, conceptions which appealed to their respective natures. Thus much only we may say—the orthodox view seemed historically more sustainable, for Islam owed both its rise and, in a large measure, its expansion to the Quraishites. With some show of justice, therefore, they could urge theirs as the greatest claim to the Caliphate. Before their defection from Ali the Kharijites hardly formed a special party. When immediately before the "Battle of the Camel" the two chief towns of Iraq were summoned to make common cause with him, only the inhabitants of Kufa responded to Ali's call; while those of Basra stood staunchly by Talha and Zubair. Since then we find Kharijites both in Kufa and Basra. We may thus take it that the people who later jointly fought Ali at Nahrawân were opposed to each other in the "Battle of the Camel."

It is, indeed, improbable that a conscious tie, binding together the people later called Kharijites, existed in those days. At all events this cannot be affirmed of all the inhabitants of the different towns: although it is conceivable that in every town the more fanatical elements banded together into a unity. From their fellow-citizens these fanatics would only be distinguished by a greater intensity of religious zeal. We notice how the Kharijites, soon after their defection, branded as heretics their earlier religious associates and comrades in arms. This was but the necessary consequence of their fundamental views concerning the Caliphate. As regards the attitude of the Kharijites towards the first four Caliphs, they held Abu Bakr and Omar in the highest esteem and regarded them as models of virtue and righteousness. On the other hand they for the most part cursed the memory

of Othmân and of Ali, although they generally considered the first years of their reign to be good.* The later Caliphs they would not acknowledge.† Herein they stood in the sharpest contrast to the orthodox and the Shiites. That they cursed Ali showed how little they were really attached to the son-in-law of the Prophet despite the fact that, for some time, they were ranged under his banner. They openly sided with him simply because he was the only candidate with an effective claim to the Caliphate. But as soon as he forfeited this claim in their eyes, they dropped him forthwith, without the slightest hesitation. This fact must be emphasised so that the Kharijites may not, perhaps, be regarded as an offshoot of Shiism. From the very outset both these parties were radically different from one another, and naught but the sheerest accident had once brought them together.

These considerations enable us to see in Kharijiism an extremely original untainted Semitic form of Islam, indeed, the most original form that we know of,—if we put Wahhâbism aside for a moment, with which Kharijiism bears a striking resemblance.‡ Amid all differences in details precisely the same tendency evidences itself both in Wahhâbism and Kharijiism; the tendency to restore Islam to its original purity and to sweep the corruptions away from it. Also in the Jewish parties, at the time

* (Weil, *Mohammed*, p. 240, note 378; Von Kremer, *Herrsch, Ideen*, pp. 243 *et seq.*; about Muhallab and the Azrakites, *Farazdaq*, pp. 203 *et seq.*, ed. Boucher, Z.D.M.G., Vol. XIII, p. 605 Tr.) *Kâmil*, 589, 6.

† Except, perhaps, Abdullah ibn Zubair, the counter-Caliph of Mekka, and Omar II. IA 5, 82.

‡ See Hartmann's *Die Wahhâbiten* in Z.D.M.G., New Series, Vol. III, 177-218. Tr.

of the Maccabean revolt and, later, under the Roman rule, we find precisely the same phenomena as among the Kharijites.

The rigid, irreconcilable spirit of the Zealots, which caused so many acts of violence, was present among the Kharijites, and to the same extent. Both looked upon the Government under which they lived as godless and continually rebelled against it. But this parallel extends not merely to external forms; even their essentially religious conceptions betray an unmistakable resemblance. The severe and one-sided but lofty ideas which are more or less common to all Semitic religions appear with equal clearness both among the Zealots and the Kharijites. Only, the Jews constantly felt and resolutely maintained themselves as a nation; while the Kharijites, in accordance with the Islamic tendency to break all national barriers down, drew in very large numbers, non-Arabs to their fold; thereby receiving, in later times. a wholly different stamp from that which they bore at the outset.

III

For three long months in the spring of 637 Ali and Moawiya stood face to face on the plain of Siffin, now fighting, now negotiating, without coming to a decision.* When on the 20th of July the brave Mâlik-al-Ashtar, who commanded the right wing of Ali's troops, succeeded in almost defeating the opposing Syrians, the rest of the Caliph's troops were about to pursue the advantage gained to secure a decisive victory. At that critical moment they saw a body of Syrians advancing towards

* IA 3, 264.

them with copies of the Qur'ân, fixed to their lances, calling with a loud voice for a truce and asking for a decision according to the Holy Book. Moawiya, foreseeing his defeat, had resorted to this device, on the advice of Amr ibn-al-Ās, in the confident anticipation of getting round many pious Muslims in Ali's camp by an appeal to the Qur'ân. Everywhere voices instantly were heard hailing the proposal of the Syrians. Especially enthusiastic, in this respect, were a group of the Qur'ān-readers who, supported by some of the chiefs, hastened to Ali and compelled him to recall his victorious troops. Here notably conspicuous was the rôle of Ashath ibn Qais, notorious for treachery and cunning. In vain did Ali point out that the Syrian leader could in no way be trusted. Had he honourable intentions, contended Ali, he would at the very beginning of the war have made such a peaceful proposal. With difficulty Malik al-Ashtar was induced to abandon the victory almost within his grasp. Negotiations opened and Ashath ibn Qais assumed the part of the ambassador.* He agreed with Amr that two arbitrators, one appointed by Ali and the other by Moawiya, should decide, according to the Qur'ān, as to who the rightful ruler was. Moawiya chose Amr ibn al-Ās, his trusted adviser, as his arbitrator-elect, and Ali was compelled to accept as his, Abu Musa al-Ashari, who was by no means loyal to him. A pact was duly signed by Ali and Amr whereby the two rivals bound themselves to accept the decision of the arbitrators. But as soon as this pact became known a wide-spread disapproval manifested itself in Ali's troops. They asserted

* IA 3, 265, 9.

that it was not right to assign the decision over the Caliphate to two mortals of whom one, forsooth, was half a heathen.

They even broke into violence. Ashath ibn Qais personally went round the camp and read out the pact to the individual tribes. When he came to the Banu Tamîm he was attacked by one of them and only with difficulty saved his life.* Ali felt that he should return to Kufa as quickly as possible before matters took a worse turn. But even on the way back there were open fights. Kinsmen renounced each other and amidst fights and recriminations they reached the environs of Kufa.† There the discontented separated themselves and withdrew to a neighbouring village called Harûra, where they, some 12,000 in number, pitched a camp.‡

Of various elements were the "People of Harûra" composed. We observe, pre-eminently, among them real Shiites, supporters of Ali. Two of these Abdullah ibn al-Kawwa and Shabath ibn Ribî, influential men, stood at the head of the rebels.§ With these a crowd of robbers had joined hands. They looked for booty in the unrest of the times. More than half, however,

* This was Urwa ibn Udaya, brother of Abu Bilâl, later so well-known. He was executed by Ziyâd, or his son Ubaidullah, *K* 539, 592. *IA* 3, 428.

† *Masudi*, IV, 388.

‡ *IA* 3, 273.

§ Shabath ibn Ribi er-Riyâhi (*K* 539) was appointed leader of the army of the Harûriya (*IA* 3, 273, *K* 559, 12). Then he returned with the rest of the Shiites to Ali and fought on his side, at Nahrawan (*IA* 3,290, 1). He is mentioned among the supporters of the Prophetess Sajâh. (*IA* 2, 371). A. ibn al-Kawwa al Yashkuri was among those who were transported to Syria under orders of Othmân (*IA* 3, 108). Later we find him at the head of a deputation which waited upon Moawiya (*IA* 3, 368).

who formed the real nucleus, consisted of the veterans of the Persian wars and other Arabs of the desert —men who had before no particular liking for Ali and, now, would have nothing more to do with him. To these are to be added those chiefs, perhaps also the readers of the Qur'ân, who had forced Ali to accept the pact. These chiefs held an important position at Harûra. (One of these chiefs, Zaid ibn Husan et-Tâ'i was among those who were put forward by the Kharijites for the Caliphate, *IA* 3,264,281.) He fell at Nahrawan (*Ibid* 290). Another Misar Ibn Fadaki et Tamimi was leader of the people of Basra at Nahrawan (*Ibid* 283). That matters, in truth, stood thus I can assume with certainty.

In the only authority available to me, dealing with these events, namely, Ibn Athîr (who merely repeats Tabari) the readers of the Qur'ân are regarded as the real Kharijites.* Now, the occurrence between Ashath ibn Qais and the above-mentioned Tamimite clearly shows that the main opposition to the pact came not from the readers of the Qur'ân but from a wholly different quarter altogether. Indeed the Kharijites, later mentioned by name, are almost all Beduin Arabs and, therefore, no readers of the Qur'ân. Moreover the conduct of these Qur'ān-readers would have been not only, as an old author points out,† false and faithless but wholly inexplicable; for were they not those who themselves forced Ali to accept the pact? Why then turn away from him when he had merely acceded to their own demand? Possibly they played into the hands of Ashath ibn Qais

* *IA* 3, 274, 264 and 265.

† *Shahrastani*, 87.

who acted as a traitor to all.* But when the text of the pact was made known and objections were raised thereto, they perceived their error and hastened to show their regret.† Possibly they hoped that Ali would follow their example and like them renounce the pact. That many Shiites attached themselves to the Kharijites is not astonishing. They felt that Ali, by accepting the pact, had called into question his claim to the office entrusted to him by God which he should not have done. And in a somewhat similar strain the Kharijites spoke of the office, entrusted to him by the community.‡ Most of them apparently approved of the truce called for by the Syrians but, with the pact, as formulated by Ashath and Amr, many even of the most loyal supporters of Ali were dissatisfied. At first sight it seems strange that Ali should be blamed at all; for they must have known that whatever he did, he did under compulsion. His fault evidently lay in not standing firm at a critical moment and in not maintaining his dignity as Caliph.§

By personal negotiations with the chiefs of the Harûra rebels, Ali succeeded in inducing them to return to Kufa. After a short time, however, many, perhaps a third of the entire band, fell away from him and chose

* Ashath ibn Qais had probably arranged the whole affair beforehand with Amr and the little acting with the Qur'ān was only intended to deceive the pious Qur'ān-readers. Weil, I, 227. Dozy, 1, 61. He was a traitor alike to Ali and the Kharijites.

† *Kamil*, 558, 10.

‡ This is nowhere definitely stated but may be safely conjectured from what we know of the Kharijites. Passages like *K* 528, 11; 559, 3, are Shiistic in thought.

§ Weil, I, 232.

a certain Abdullah ibn Wahb of the tribe of Rāsib (22nd March, 658) as their Caliph.*

With this the breach between them and the other Muslims was complete. Henceforward they looked upon all who acknowledged neither the Kharijite Caliph nor yet cursed Othmân and Ali as infidels or heathens whom it was a pious duty to fight. The theoretical idea that people professing other beliefs are infidels is indeed not peculiar to the Kharijites alone, but what is peculiar is

* There are two traditions regarding the conference and the subsequent secession: one obviously Shiite and the other Kharijite. According to the former (*IA* 3, 274-5, 1-7, p. 28), Ali pointed out to the Kharijites that arbitration was permissible and therefore they returned with him to Kufa. But one day when he was preaching someone called out: 'Judgment only belongs to God;' whereupon the Caliph replied: 'A true saying with a false purpose.' The Kharijites, then, left the mosque and soon rose against him. On the other hand the Kharijite report runs thus (*K* 558; *IA* 3, 275). The Kharijites called upon Ali to confess his error and show his repentance thereof. He did so but on condition that they waited for six months until 'the thighs of their pack-horses were strong and funds collected,' when he would attack Moawiya. The Kharijites, thereupon, freely talked about the matter in the town. Ali felt himself compromised by this facile chatter and had to give the lie to the whole thing from the pulpit. The Kharijites, enraged at his double-dealing, rose against him. The latter appears to be the more correct. Ali, in any case, knew perfectly well that no good to him would result from the arbitration and it was in view of the impending struggle with Moawiya that he was anxious to keep the Kharijites on his side. But, as against the vigilant Syrians, he must avoid all semblance of a breach of faith. He was thus compelled to come to a secret arrangement with the Kharijites, but he forgot that the consistent fanatics would, in no way, countenance hypocrisy even were they to benefit by it. The Shiite tradition is, however, entirely false. Those arguments which were put into the mouth of Ali (and also in that of Abdullah ibn Abbas) made, indeed, no impression on the Kharijites, if at all on the Qur'ān-readers and the Shiites. The Shiites had reasons to misrepresent the entire thing. On the one hand, in concluding a secret pact with the Kharijites. Ali was guilty of a breach of faith with Moawiya and, on the other, the Shiites would not concede that the divine Ali confessed to the rebels that he had done wrong. *IA* 3, 281. *Cf.* K 559.

the terrible consistency with which they maintained that attitude. They were ready ever and anon to kill straightaway Muslims professing other beliefs than their own. Jews and Christians they always spared as "protected subjects."*

Whenever, indeed, they appeared less fanatical, the reason was in the external circumstances to which they had to accommodate themselves to escape destruction.

Immediately after their defection the Kharijites moved out of Kufa and encamped at Nahrawan, which lies on the left bank of the Tigris between Baghdad and Wâsit.† After the award had been made against Ali by the cunning of Amr ibn al-Ās, Ali made one more effort to reconcile the rebels to himself and wrote to them that he was prepared to challenge the award and was ready to march with them against the Syrians. But it was too late. The only condition on which the rebels insisted for their return, was the confession that by the acceptance of the pact he had fallen into infidelity,—an expectation impossible of fulfilment on the part of Ali.‡ Moreover by coming to terms with the Kharijites he would verily have forfeited the esteem of the Shiites. He, thus turning away from them, prepared himself for the Syrian campaign without heeding the vehement demands of his troops to fight the Kharijites first. While thus placed, suddenly news of cruelties perpetrated by the Kharijites reached Kufa. The peaceful wayfarers, who fell into their hands and refused to curse Othmân and Ali, were cruelly murdered. Among the killed was

* *K* 560, 1-11; 678, 14, *IA*, 3, 351.

† Yaqut, IV, 846, 21.

‡ *IA*, 3, 284, *cf.* 288.

a distinguished Muslim, Abdullah ibn Khabbâb, whose father was a companion of the Prophet.* A messenger was forthwith despatched to Nahrawan to call for an explanation of these misdeeds, but, on his arrival there, he was stabbed.† If the Caliph would not completely risk losing his authority in Iraq he must, without delay, adopt energetic measures against the rebels. But the fact that he, by merely demanding the surrender of those that were involved in the murders, still sought to enter into negotiations with them is indeed characteristic of him. "We have killed the heathens" was their significant reply. But before beginning the war Ali set up a flag of truce and summoned the Kharijites either to join him or go their way. More than half elected to choose the latter course; while only a few went over to him. These might have realized how hopeless their position was against 60,000 soldiers whom Ali had under his command. Only a small band of two thousand resolved to die for their opinion's sake and they, with few exceptions, were annihilated after a desperate fight.‡ This was the famous battle of Nahrawan, fought in May or June, 658.§ For Ali it was a doubtful victory which merely put the worst fanatics out of the way; while by far the largest number remained still alive ready to break out into rebellion at any moment. The example of the heroes of Nahrawan, who had suffered martyrdom for the

* *IA*, 3, 286.

† *IA*, 3, 287.

‡ IA, 3, 290, where it is stated that 1,800 remained behind and 2,800 went away. On the other hand, according to *Kamil* (543, 7) 2,800 remained behind.

§ *IA* places this battle in A.H. 37, but also mentions A.H. 38 (3,292). It evidently took place at the end of 37 or the beginning of 38 A.H.

faith, continued for long to stir and inflame the enthusiasm of the Kharijites.* Those who withdrew from the fight at Nahrawan soon repented their want of courage and sought to wipe out their disgrace by fresh insurrections. This battle provoked an irreconcilable hostility between the Shiites and the Kharijites; the latter showed less hatred to the Omayyads than to the Alides. In yet another way was the battle of Nahrawan fateful to the Caliph. Weary and worn, Ali's troops asked for rest before marching on to Syria and, despite entreaties and admonitions, returned home.† Thus was the opportunity lost when Ali might have won a victory over his rival. Instead of a victory Ali saw Moawiya wrench province after province from him. Even to Iraq which had always been‡ faithful the him Moawiya sent emissaries to wean the inhabitants away from Ali. Moreover a number of small Kharijite insurrections took place in the winter of 658-659. Although they were unimportant and were speedily put down they, indeed, impaired the strength of Ali.§

* Compare Shabib ibn Yazid, *IA*, 4, 324.

† *IA*, 3, 292.

‡ *IA*, 3, 302 319 (see Hartman's art. on 'Iraq' in the *Ency. of Islam*, Tr.)

§ *IA*, 3, 313-314. These small insurrections may be mentioned here:

(1) Ashras ibn Auf (on the II Rabi 38=Sept. 658) at Ambar.
(2) Hilal ibn Ollafa (on the 1st Jumada=Oct.) at Masbedan.
(3) Ashath ibn Bishr (on the 11th Jum.=Nov.) at Jarjarâyâ.
(4) Sa'id ibn Qafal (in Rajab=Dec.) at Madain.
(5) Abu Maryam es-Sadi (in Ramadan=Febr. 659) at Kufa.

Most freed men (non-Arabs) joined Abu Maryam. Mention is also made of a great battle at Nukhaila, not far from Kufa. The leader was Mustaurid ibn Ollafa (*K*, 576) or a Tâite (*K*, 548, 12 ff). In *IA*, 3,280, 7 and Anon, p. 92, 5, a battle is mentioned at N., but nowhere do I find a description of it. Possibly in K there is a confusion with one of the battles which took place at Nukhaila under Moawiya.

Besides these genuine Kharijite insurrections, a similar insurrection is reported, which though not of the real Kharijites, may be referred to here. It is very significant of the conditions then prevailing in Iraq and brings home to us how widespread was the spirit which is directly responsible for the birth of the Kharijite movement. A certain Khirrît ibn Rashîd en Nâji separated from Ali because he had been deposed by the arbitrator appointed by himself. Many genuine Kharijites rallied round him. It is said that by falsely representing to them that he secretly believed in the truth of their views he won them over to his side. In the same way he is said to have won over the supporters of the murdered Othmân and even Christians for himself; with the result that each party deluded itself into the belief that their leader was one of themselves.* Even the people of Khuzistan went over to him in the hope of ridding themselves of the oppressive capitation-tax. We may take it that bandits were not absent from that extraordinary band, who roamed about in Southern Iraq spreading death and devastation. A portion of these even had the boldness to expel Ali's governor from Fars and to take possession of the province until Ziyâd, so famous in after years, was sent by Ali and succeeded in driving them away. Soon after this Khirrît's main army was completely defeated and destroyed by Maqal ibn Qais, one of Ali's best generals and Khirrît himself was slain.†

In the pilgrimage of the year 660 (March-April)

* *IA*, 3, 310, what Khirrît says (p. 306) to Ali sounds like the talk of the Kharijites.

† *IA*, 3, 306-311.

several Kharijites met in Mekka and discussed the sad plight of the Muslim world, divided into parties as it was. They thought that peace and order could only be restored by putting the ambitious authors of the unrest, Ali, Moawiya and Amr, out of the way. Willing hands were not wanting and the 21st (or the 28th) of January, 661 was fixed for the execution of the triple murder.* But only Ali was fatally wounded. Moawiya escaped with slight injury and Amr was saved by an accident. On the death of Ali, Hasan, his weak and incompetent son, was induced, without much trouble, to give up his claim to the Caliphate leaving Moawiya, the sole occupant of the field, the rightful Caliph. With him begins a period of peace at home and successful feats of arms abroad. During this period the Kharijites found little opportunity to come forward openly. Yet, in the beginning of his government, when his rule was not firmly established, there were a few insurrections, the most important of them being that of Mustaurid ibn Ollafa of Tamim.† This was the last great rising which originated from Kufa; in 678 a very small one is reported.‡

* *IA* mentions the 17th, *K* the 21st of Ramadan (*IA* 3, 327, *K* 549, 7).

† Farwa ibn Naufal el-Ashjai, one of those who withdrew before the battle of Nahrawan, marched against Kufa when he heard of the Caliphate of Moawiya and won a victory over a small band of Syrian troops at Nukhaila, not far from the capital, but was later defeated by the Kufans and taken prisoner, July 661. (Tabari II, 10, Yaqut, II 153.) On other insurrections see *K* 578, 81, *IA* 3, 345. On the insurrection of Mustaurid, which took place one or two years later, Tabari (II, 28-64) gives an extraordinarily full report which has been put together from the accounts of eye-witnesses on either side (compare *K* 577, 12). A part of Mustaurid's followers were put into prison before his departure by the Governor Mughîra ibn Shuba and rebelled later. Others, after much roaming about in the middle of Iraq, were slain by a Kufic band, led by Maqal ibn Qais at Madain.

‡ Tab., II, 181.

Kufa was prevailingly Shiite, and it required a much shorter time to extirpate the Kharijites there than in Basra, where the party was able to assert itself in spite of persecutions for twenty years.

IV

Under the first two governors,* Abdullah ibn Āmir (661-664) and Hârith ibn Abdullah (664-665), whom Moawiya appointed over Basra, crimes of all kinds passed

* A list may appropriately be given of the governors of Iraq during the period discussed here:—

A.H.	A.D.	Kufa.	Basra.
41=May	661...	Mughira ibn Shuba ...	Abdullah ibn Amir.
44=April	664...		Hârith ibn Abdullah.
45=March	665...		Ziyâd.
50=Feb.	670...	Ziyâd (Governor of entire Iraq).	
53=Jan.	673...	Abdullah ibn Khâlid ...	Samura ibn Jundub.
54=Dec.	673...	Abdullah ibn Khâlid ...	Abdullah ibn Amr ibn Gheilân.
55=Dec.	674...	Dahhâk ibn Qais el-Fihri ...	Obeidullah ibn Ziyâd.
58=Nov.	677...	Abdurrahman ibn Umm-el-Hakam.	
59=Oct.	678...	Numân ibn Beshîr. ...	
60=	679...	Obeidullah ibn Ziyad (over the whole of Iraq).	
64=Sept.	683...	[Amir ibn Masûd, Abdullah ibn Yazîd]	[Abdullah ibn Hârith Babba.]
65=Aug.	684...	[Abdullah ibn Mutî'] ...	[Omar ibn Obeidullah ibn Mamar and Hârith ibn Abdullah el-Qobâ.']
66=	685...	Mukhtâr ibn Abi Obeid.	
67=	686...	Musab ibn Zubair [over the whole of Iraq; later (Hamza ibn Zubair) over Basra].	

unpunished* and, as was to be expected, a body of Kharijites now and then rose against the government.† But with the appointment of Ziyâd as Governor of Basra and five years later of the whole of Iraq, a new era set in. His strong rule, which suppressed every popular movement, could not fail to exercise a great influence over the Kharijites.

We have already come to know that this party hitherto regarded all who did not acknowledge their Caliph as pagans, infidels whom it was a pious duty to fight. During the earlier days of unrest and agitation it was possible to give effect to such a view; but under the rule of Moawiya, getting more and more consolidated, the prompt suppression of all lawlessness deterred even the most daring characters from extreme measures. The Kharijites were thus compelled to adapt themselves to existing conditions, for without such an accommodation it was impossible to live with the other Muslims.

A.H.	A.D.	Kufa.	Basra.
68=July	687...	[Musab] (over the whole of Iraq).	
71=June	690...	Bishr ibn Merwân ...	Khâlid ibn Abdullah.
73=May	692...	Bishr (over the whole of Iraq. Died the same year).	
73= ,,	692...	Amr ibn Huraith ...	Khâlid ibn Abdullah.
75=	694...	Hajjâj ibn Yûsuf (over the whole of Iraq).	

The governors whose names are enclosed in square brackets, were governors of the counter-Caliph Abdullah ibn Zubair.

* Weil I, 272.

† Only one case indeed is reported: two Kharijites roamed about, in the neighbourhood of Basra, at the time of Ibn Amir, killing every Muslim they came across (Tab. II, 15, 83).

Here we shall speak of a view of the Kharijites which offers the key to much that was peculiar to this party and which nowhere else was to be found in a similar form.

These over-enthusiastic and, after their own fashion, pious Beduins had so deeply steeped themselves in the study of the Qur'ân and the history of the earliest Muslim community that they became incapable of constructing the present on a model other than that of the earlier times. Herein they imparted, if we may say so, a romantic colouring to the whole situation. But while these fanatics had hitherto taken only those times as their model when Mohamed had triumphed over his adversaries, and Abu Bakr and Omar had defeated the Romans and the Persians, the Kharijites, who were now suppressed in Basra by the firm policy of Ziyâd, went back to the first beginnings of Islam for their model, *i.e.*, to the times when the Prophet had not attained the power he did later and had to endure persecution and hostility on all sides. They likened their position among those of other views to that of the small congregation which had gathered round Mohamed in Mekka. But since Mohamed resided among the unbelievers of Mekka and mixed with them they felt justified in doing exactly the same at Basra with the unbelieving Basrans. Thus, under Moawiya, among the Kharijites of Basra a milder frame of mind gradually manifested itself, which strongly contrasted with the fiery spirit of the earlier fanatics.*

* Dozy, in his History of Muslim Spain (Eng. tr., p. 79), correctly observes when he says that the religion of the Kharijites of the early times was precisely the same as that which was announced by Mohamed to his followers before he secured worldly powers (Vol. I, 142). When he compares the Kharijites with the Puritans in England (I, 615) he does so apparently

For the opinion expressed above, the names which the Kharijites gave to themselves offer chief proof. When a number of them determined to leave their town and actually marched out of it they called themselves "emigrants" *muhâjiruna*,* and the place whence they marched out they called *muhâjar* or *dâr hijrah*.† Thus they apparently put themselves on a line with the emigrants of Mekka. Moreover the common name 'Khawârij' (pl. of Khârijî) is borrowed from the Qur'ân and means 'emigrants,' not 'rebels' as has been generally assumed.

In *Sûra* 4, 101 the passage runs thus:—

Whoever flieth his country for the cause of God, will find in the earth many refuges and abundant resources; and if any one shall quit his home and fly to God and his Apostle, etc.‡ Here also *kharaja* stands for a believer leaving his home among unbelievers and is found in conjunction with *hâjara* (to emigrate); there can be no doubt that this significance of *kharaja* is in the

mainly because of that view. The Puritans, like them, though not to the same extent, modelled their action upon the Israelite pattern. Even the theory that the Caliph is elected by the community and, thus, can be deposed by it, has its parallel in the republican ideas which led to the English revolution. Here, as there, power rests with the people. *Cf.* Ranke, Eng. Gesch., Vol. IV, Ch. I.

* *Cf.* *K.* 678, 16.

† *K.* 605, 13. Kitâb el-'Oyûn, 108, 8. From this passage it is clear that frequently a place where a Kharijite had suffered martyrdom, was selected for this purpose.

‡ Text of the Qur'ân:—

و من يهاجر في سبيل الله يجد فى الارض مراغما كثيرا و سعة
و من يخرج من بيته مهاجراً الى الله و رسوله الخ *

name ' Khawarij,' and that the latter is to be translated as " those who leave their home among unbelievers for God's sake."*

A further confirmation of this derivation is received by the fact that in the old Kharijite poems the name *khârijiy* occurs side by side with *khurûj*.† The Kharijites would never have called themselves as such, if the original sense had been one of a rebel. The name thus has been given an unpleasant odour by other Muslims out of sheer malice.

Moreover, often and often, the terms *Shurât* (pl. of شار), " who sell themselves," is used to denote extreme fanatics, and *Qa'ad* (pl. of قاعد), " the stay-at-homes," for those of temperate views. These terms too are borrowed from the Qur'ân. Sura 9, 112:—Of the faithful hath God bought their persons and their substance on condition of Paradise for them in return: on the path of God shall they fight, and slay and be slain.‡ This explanation is supported by a number of passages which occur in old poems. In all these the talk is about the sale of the person to God for the price of eternal life.§

* The expression الخروج عن ائمة الجور is found in older authorities like Ibn Hazm, while in the later ones it occurs as الخروج على

† *K* 529, 13; 530, 8.

‡ The Text: إن الله اشترى من المومنين انفسهم بان لهم الجنة يقاتلون في سبيل الله فيقتلون و يقتلون الخ *

§ *K* 528, 1; 560. 16; 619, 6, 595, 16 (bâ'a occurs for shara). The verb shara in the above-quoted Quranic verse is used in the eighth form as God is spoken of as buying the faithful. Generally the word is used with reference

The plural *Qâ'idûna,* meaning the same thing, occurs once in the Qur'ân, 4, 97.*

But the first Muslims lived among veritable idolators; were those of other views, in whose midst the Kharijites lived, also so? Upon this question, among the Kharijites of milder views differences of opinion arose. It is not clear whether at the time of Ziyâd or later these differences of opinion led to the formation of fresh sects. (According to Kamil, 615, these sects seem to have arisen in the year 684 but this, to be sure, is not correct and is to be set down to the superficial conception of the Arab historians.)

In any case this question was very early debated. Some still firmly held that the rest of the Muslims were real infidels, but admitted that it was permissible to live with them, to enter into marital relations with them, to inherit from them; for it was not possible to do otherwise, and moreover these *infidels* outwardly, at least, professed Islam.

Abu Beihas (Heisam ibn Jâbir) was the chief exponent of this view. His followers are called Beihasîya

to the faithful themselves, and is then used in the first form and means 'selling.'

* Along with 'Khawarij' occurs the term 'Harûriya' (in one place 'Harûrîyûna, *K.* 589, 11) specially to denote the earlier Kharijites, but also the later ones; *cf. IA* 5, 88, 158, 268. *Cf.* also *K* 543, 6. This was, indeed, their popular name going back to Ali, *K* 540, 11; 581, 17; 629, 1. By the other Muslims they were also frequently called Mâriqûna, "rebels." *Cf. IA* 3. 358, 8. Shahrastani, 87. Also they were called Muhakkimah (Shahr., 86 and K 614, 10. Anon. 87, 4) and Mubaiyidah. The former meant, those who maintained the Kharijite shibboleth "Judgment belongs to God alone" (la hukm illa illah) and the latter was applied to them because they carried white banners. That Theophanes calls them 'Harûriya' confirms the view that it was their real popular name.

(K 615, 4. In the year 712 Abu Beihas was executed in Medina under orders of the Caliph Walîd.) On the other hand a certain Abdullah ibn Ibâd taught that those of other views were real Muslims, since they stood by the Qur'ân and acknowledged the mission of the Prophet; infidels were they only to this extent that they had turned away from God's mercy by refusing to become Kharijites. Thus one could, without hesitation, live with them and treat them as equals.* Holding views such as these, the Ibâdîya left the ranks of consistent Kharijites; their only characteristic feature was the theory that the Caliph could be deposed.

Along with these two sects, we find yet another, the Sufrîya, who were merely an offshoot of the Ibâdîya and showed very little deviation from them. At most they professed still milder views.†

In later times, when the Omayyad rule had become feeble and impotent, we notice even formidable Kharijite insurrections originating from the Ibâdites and the Sufrites. This fact yields one more proof of how much these temperate views owed their origin to the severity of Ziyâd and his successors.

But there was another reason still for the decline of the fanatical spirit. In *Kâmil* it is reported of various influential Muslims that they had adopted the Kharijite views.‡ This can only refer to the doctrine of the free election of the Caliph. I may, therefore, conclude that

* K 615, 4. Shahr. I, 151.

† K 615, 10. Shahr. I, 155.

‡ K 561, 10. The people mentioned there belong to the next generation. The very same thing is stated of the grammarian Abu Obeida (Ma'mar ibn Muthanna) and of the historian Heitham ibn Adi (Fihrist, p. 53, 14 and Ibn Qut. 267).

this view was fairly well-diffused even among those Basrans who originally were no Kharijites, and that many who never dreamed of a rebellion joined hands with the milder Kharijites, particularly with the Ibâḍîya,—thus introducing a fresh element into the party.

Regarding one Kharijite of this time we possess more detailed information. Abu Bilâl Mirdâs ibn Udayya, brother of that Tamimite who, after the Battle of Siffin, had threatened Ash'ath ibn Qais with the sword, was one of the few who escaped from the Battle of Nahrawân and who since then had been living quietly in Basra.* In the tradition he is portrayed as a pious and virtuous man who dedicated himself entirely to religious duties. But this notwithstanding, he did not shrink on one occasion from openly opposing the Governor in the mosque.† Later we shall speak of his subsequent fate. It has only to be provisionally observed here that all that is related of him is coloured by the views of the later Kharijites. They even spoke of wonders which heaven showed to him as the ideal of a true believer.‡ This evidently is an attempt to represent the Basran Kharijites as excellent men, who had been instigated to rebel only by reason of the criminal conduct of the Omayyad governors.

We have accounts at hand which justify the measures of Ziyâd. They prove that the Governor treated the Kharijites with great consideration and in some cases,

* IA 3, 428 and K 585, 13.

† K 561, 3. Tab. II, 76, 5.

‡ K 590. *Cf.* K 610, 13; 679, 12. On the information of K 561, 2, that the Mutazilites, and even the Shiites, acknowledged him as one of their own I place no reliance. It only shows how little then the Kharijites were distinguishable from the rest of the Basrians so long as they kept quiet.

indeed, with extreme leniency and distinction so long as they did not attack the Government. One of the Kharijites he even appointed Governor of a small province.*

Presumably he regarded them as valuable allies against the Shiites (so dangerous to him), between whom and the Kharijites there existed implacable, incurable hatred. It is clear that Ziyâd did not at all proceed towards them with undue severity. The Kharijites had in a great measure themselves to blame for their persecutions—the innocent suffering with the guilty.

V

So long as Ziyâd remained in Basra no insurrection apparently took place there. But when in the year 670 he moved to Kufa, as Governor of entire Iraq, fanatics again raised their head. Two of these, Quraib ibn Murr of Azd and Zahhaf et-Tâi, took advantage of his absence to embark upon a campaign of wanton murders in the town. They were soon, however, slain with all their followers.† Unimportant indeed was this incident, but it had serious consequences; for it led to the imprisonment of all the known Kharijites and to the execution of many.‡ When two years later, after the death of his father, Obeidullah ibn Ziyâd became governor of Basra, he found a great number of the Kharijites in prison there. They had been there since the days of Ziyâd. It seems that in the beginning Obeidullah followed the

* K 594, 10; 595, 6.
† K 581, 14. Tab. II, 90, 17.
‡ Tab. II. 91, 14. K. 582, 8.

tolerant policy of his father; only he erred in setting all the prisoners free.* Most of them were the very worst fanatics. Far from being grateful to Obeidullah for granting an amnesty, no sooner were they released, than they tried to rise against him.

The Governor was now forced to adopt rigorous measures against them. He caused all suspected of Kharijite views to be imprisoned or executed. Thus it came to a bloody conflict between the fanatics† and the Government. Almost every executioner was killed by the friends of the executed Kharijites with the result that in the end Obeidullah could with difficulty find any one who would dare to execute a Kharijite.

Among the Kharijites that were imprisoned was also the above-mentioned Mirdâs ibn Udaya. In the Superintendent of the Jail, who was profoundly impressed by his piety, he found a friend. As Mirdâs pledged his word to him that he would come back to the prison at day-break, the Superintendent allowed him to return home every evening. This continued for some time, until an executioner was murdered by the Kharijites. Obeidullah then forthwith resolved to kill all the prisoners in jail. Although Mirdâs (when out of prison during the night) had heard of the decision of the Governor, he could not be induced by the entreaties of his family to break faith with the Superintendent. At the appointed hour he presented himself at the prison be-

* K 594, 9.

† K 592, 7; 591, 5; 602, 16; 585, 8; 604, 2. In Tab., II, 459 it is stated that Ziyad and Obeidullah between them killed 13,000 Kharijites and the latter imprisoned 4,000. *Cf.* IA 3,427, where it appears that Obeidullah used Kharijites as executioners.

fore the Superintendent, who, amazed at his sense of honour, obtained his release from the Governor.*

Thereupon Mirdâs left the town where his brethren-in-faith had to endure such severe persecutions and went, with some forty followers, to Âsek in southern Khûzistân, where he hoped to live in peace. But one day he seized the officials who were taking the tribute of the Province of Fars to Basra, and took from them the amount due to him and his companions as annuities from the State. But as the division of the annuity was the exclusive privilege of the Governor, Obeidullah immediately sent a division of troops to punish Mirdâs. They were however put to flight by a small band of determined Kharijites. Soon after a larger army, under Abbâd ibn el-Akhdar, met Mirdâs at Tawwaj in southern Fars and won a complete victory over him. It is reported that, at the request of Mirdâs, the Basran leader allowed a truce to enable his men to perform their evening prayer. Thus, unprepared for the fight, they were attacked, and as they would not interrupt their prayer for the defence of their lives, they were slain to a man. 'Abbâd, on his return home, soon fell a victim to the wrath of the Kharijites. His murder, however, evoked still more stringent measures from the Government.† With the exception of the Qa'ad, the temperate Kharijites, who could dissemble their views, the rest had no alternative but to leave Basra.

About this time Yazîd, the son and successor of Moâwiya, conquered at the Battle of Harra (26th August, 683) the Medinites on the side of the counter-

* Dozy, *Hist. des Musulm.*, 1, 146; Tab., II, 186; K 585.

† K 585. Tab., II, 186, 391.

Caliph, Abdullah ibn Zubair.* His troops, under Husain ibn Numeir, now advanced against Mekka to vanquish Ibn Zubair himself. Many of the Kharijites then were inclined to acknowledge the usurper of Mekka as Caliph. And now that the Holy Town was threatened they hastened under Nâfi‘ ibn el-Azraq to offer their support against the Syrians.† In the beginning they were very well received by Ibn Zubair, and, during the siege, they rendered excellent service. And when, on the news of the death of Yazîd, the Syrians withdrew, the Kharijites invited Ibn Zubair to a festive gathering to accept their views; but Ibn Zubair peremptorily turned them away.‡ Nafi thereupon returned to his companions at Basra, where everything was in a state of flux.§

On the news of the death of Yazîd at Basra (10th Nov., 683), Obeidullah ibn Ziyâd, persuaded by the influential men of the town, suffered homage to be done to him as Caliph.‖ In Kufa, on the contrary, they would have nothing to do with him, and the popular indignation soon induced the messengers of Obeidullah to make themselves scarce. But even in Basra Obeidullah did not long continue in power, for he had no longer any support from Syria. Nafi and his companions now found a favourable opportunity to come openly forward. They released all their friends still in prison,¶ and made for

* Weil, I, 331.

† K 605, 14. Comp. 604, 15.

‡ They wanted him to curse not only Othman and Ali but his own father and Talha. K 606, 5.

§ K 609, 11. Tab. II. 517.

‖ K 609, 17. Tab. II. 433, 513. IA 4, 108.

¶ K 610. Obeidullah is said to have personally released the Kharijites, but this is hardly credible.

some time the streets insecure. Eventually they encamped in a suburb, as they were too small in number to accomplish anything great.* In the meantime an emissary of Abdullah ibn Zubair came to Basra and invited the inhabitants to pay homage to his master He managed, indeed, to enlist on his side the numerous tribe of Tamim, to which he himself belonged. This decided Obeidullah's fate. After he failed to secure the arrest of the emissary he secretly left his residence and sought the help and protection of the tribe of Azd.† Between the Azd and Tamim there had long subsisted the well-known rivalry of the Qahtânides and the Ma'addites, and nought but a spark was needed to set the torch of war alight. A sanguinary street-fight took place between the two tribes and their allies, and only after four months (Spring, 684), when Mas'ûd ibn Amr, the special host and protector of Obeidullah, had been slain and Obeidullah himself had fled to Syria, was peace once again restored (May-June, 684). One day, while in the pulpit, Mas'ûd was murdered by a Kharijite. This led the infuriated Azd to make a fierce attack upon the Kharijites,‡ killing or expelling them from the town.

As soon as the war was over and the two parties had concluded peace,§ the Basrans, to a man, united to drive Nafi and his companions from the neighbourhood of Basra.||

* Tab. II, 517 and 441. Also 461, 9.

† Tab. II, 437.

‡ The Kharijites were all Tamimites, who had been asked by the well-known Tamimite chief, Ahnaf ibn Qais, to assist his party. Tab. II, 461, 455. K 610, 4.

§ Tab. 462.

|| Tab. II, 518.

These thereupon retired to the Province of Ahwâz (Khûzistân), whence they expelled Government Officers and collected taxes for their own benefit.* Soon, however, the more fanatical Kharijites, the Shurât, joined them; only a number of people of milder views remained behind at Basra, where they apparently continued to live on with the rest of the Basrans.†

At Ahwaz disputes soon arose among the Kharijites. According to tradition Nafi maintained that minor children of differing faith were also infidels, and, as such, should be slain along with their parents,—a doctrine which was accepted by many, probably by most of his companions.‡

This proposition, indeed, led to the formation of a new sect, named, after its founder, Azraqites or Azâriqa. On the other hand Nejda ibn Āmir el-Hanafi declared that minors could not be held responsible for their faith and that one should wait until they reached an age when they could judge for themselves and make their own choice of faith.§ As Nafi persisted in his views, Nejda and his companions parted from him and proceeded to Yamâma, where they appeared as the sect of the Nejdîya.‖ It is doubtful if the dispute was one of a purely dogma-

* K 610, 12. Anon. 79.

† K 614, 10. This account considerably differs from that in Weil (1,365). There Nafi takes possession of the town and refuses to acknowledge Abdullah ibn Ma'mar, the Governor appointed by Ibn Zubair. *Cf.* also Note 2, on p. 352, Weil, I.

‡ Compare the letters exchanged between Nafi and Nejda. Brünnow, *Die Charidschiten*, p. 58.

§ *Cf.* Shahr, 96, where this is said of a subordinate sect of the Nejdites.

‖ According to Kamil 615, 10, the Nejdites were not then distinct from the Ibâdîya.

tic character; personal reasons more likely were the determining cause of the separation between Nafi and Nejda.

The establishment of the principle, by the Azraqites, that all of other beliefs, without exception (not excepting even the other Kharijites), were heathens and infidels who were to be exterminated without mercy unless they forthwith accepted the Azraqite faith, showed where the rigorous application of the Kharijite principles, combined with a too literal interpretation of certain passages of the Qur'ân, would ultimately lead.

We can imagine how they conducted themselves in Ahwaz. They murdered the inhabitants, burnt down villages, and spread devastation throughout the country. To fight them was no light task. It took fourteen years to wipe them out.

And what a spectacle does the Caliphate present during the first twelve years after the death of Yazid!

Immediately at the outset we perceive troubles in Syria which only terminate with the victory of Merwân at Merj Râhit, while in the Hijâz Abdullah ibn Zubair declares himself Caliph, and soon in Iraq now this administration, now that, gains the upper hand. With the accession of Abdul Malik the position becomes still more confused. The first years of his reign are occupied with the struggles of four different parties. We see the usurper Mukhtâr ibn Abi Obeid in Kufa, with the Alides clustering around him, fighting the Omayyads as the avenger of Husain. He is eventually conquered and killed by Musab, brother of Abdullah ibn Zubair. We see Abdullah ibn Zubair, the most dangerous of Abdul Malik's foes, finding sympathy and support among the inhabitants of Hijaz. We see the Azraquites waging

holy war against the rest of the Muslims; and finally the Nejdites bringing almost the whole of Arabia under their sway after a series of victories.

After Abdul Malik's general Obeidullah had been defeated by the troops of Mukhtar under Ibrahim ibn el-Ashtar, the Caliph, too weak to take the offensive, confined himself to the defence of Syria and left the restoration of order in Iraq to Musab, whom he eventually overthrew in the year 690. Two years later Mekka fell into the hands of the Syrian, and all the provinces to the west of the Median mountain-range acknowledged him Caliph. The Azraqites had only Khuzistan, Fars and Kirmân in their power and after some five years were completely crushed and extirpated. Even the Kharijites in Central Arabia could not long enjoy their power. But just when peace seemed to have been restored, a new Kharijite insurrection unexpectedly broke out in the north, at Mosul, which gave trouble for two years to Hajjâj, the Governor of Iraq.

VI

Let us cast a glance at these Kharijite wars. The first batches of armed men, who left Basra to oppose the Azraqites, suffered severe defeats, and the Azraqites, though they lost their leader Nafi in one of the battles, advanced under his successor Obeidullah ibn el-Mâhûz and approached nearer and nearer to the capital. Frightened at this the inhabitants sought shelter in the desert.* By a happy chance Muhallab ibn Abi Sofra, who had been appointed Governor of Khorasan by Ibn Zubair, was still in the town. A tried general in the wars in the East

* K 542, 5.

he, at the request of the Governor, put himself at the head of an army hastily got together. But even he had to face severe struggles before he could drive the Azraqites from the fertile plain into the inhospitable mountains which divide Persia from the country of the Tigris. In the battle at Sillabrâ, not far from Jundêshâpûr in upper Khuzistan, he won a decisive victory (May, 686),* in which the hostile leader Obeidullah fell. Thenceforward Muhallab contented himself with keeping away the Kharijites from Khuzistan.

Thus stood the position of affairs when Musab ibn Zubair, the new Governor of Iraq, entered Basra in the late summer of the year 686,† and sent for Muhallab to use him against another and yet more dangerous enemy. Mukhtar, son of the general Abu Obeid, well known for his exploits in the Persian wars, had set himself up in Kufa as the avenger of Husain, slain in the fight against the troops of the Caliph Yazid, at Kerbalâ. In the population of this town, so strongly Shiite in its tendency, he found so much support, that he gradually secured an independent position and offered defiance both to Abdul Malik and his earlier master Abdullah ibn Zubair. His power mainly rested upon the victory which his general Ibrahim ibn el-Ashtar had won over a Syrian army under Obeidullah ibn Ziyâd on the upper Zâb in August 686.‡ Musab's first care was to overthrow Mukhtar. After a successful conclusion of the campaign, in which Mukhtar was killed (on the 3rd of April, 687), he put Muhallab in

* Anon, p. 105. *Cf.* Tab. II, 591, 16. See also p. 588 under the year 65 (684-5).

† Weil, I, 389.

‡ Weil, 380.

charge of the important frontier-town of Mosul, the chief bulwark against Abdul Malik, and handed over to the newly-appointed Governor of Fars, Omar ibn Obeidullah ibn Mamar, the conduct of the war against the Azraqites Omar, a brave and chivalrous leader, won indeed a brilliant victory over the enemy, but, like Muhallab, did not make proper use of the advantage gained. In fact he let it go in silence. The Azraqites under Zubair ibn Ali, a cousin of the Obeidullah already mentioned, passed him by as they marched down into the plain of the Tigris.

These, by way of Madâin, now advanced as far as Kufa causing murder and devastation everywhere. Kufa itself they did not, however, venture to attack; for the Governor there, Harith ibn Abdullah el-Qobâ‘, opposed them with a considerable army. They then returned again to Persia and soon proceeded to Rai (in the neighbourhood of modern Tehrân), which they took after a siege. The town of Ispahan would have shared a similar fate, had it not been for the daring and courage of its governor Attâb ibn Warqâ who, after the siege had lasted for four months, made a bold sortie upon the now careless Kharijites, and put them to flight, after their leader Zubair ibn Ali was slain.

Under Qatarî ibn el-Fujâ'a, successor of the slain leader Zubair ibn Ali, the Azraqites penetrated again, after some time, into Iraq. Now Musab thought it necessary to recall Muhallab from Mosul and send him against them. It does not appear that Muhallab won any notable victory over them. He managed however to keep them away from Basra. But Muhallab was not destined to remain long in his post, for in November,

690,* Musab fell in battle against Abdul Malik, and although Muhallab was confirmed in his post by the latter, the new governor of Basra, Khâlid ibn Abdullah, anxious to conquer the Kharijites himself, deposed him without the knowledge of the Caliph. But Khalid had scant success, and his brother, Abdul Azîz, through want of foresight, brought upon himself an overwhelming defeat.†

Shortly after Bishr ibn Merwân, brother of the Caliph and hitherto governor of Kufa, was appointed Governor of entire Iraq, and Muhallab (despite Bishr's intrigue against his appointment) was expressly appointed by Abdul Malik to again lead an army against the Azraqites, who had advanced right up to Basra.‡ Muhallab gave indeed fresh proof of his energy, for the enemy forthwith withdrew before him, but the mutiny of the Kufans and many of the Basrans, who suddenly declared that they would not fight any more and returned home, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the commander, left no alternative to Muhallab but to be on the defensive.

In November, 694, Hajjaj came as Governor to Iraq.§ Terrorised by his drastic measures all men capable of bearing arms at once returned to the camp of Muhallab, who could now venture to seriously attack the enemy. At Kâzerûn, in Fars, he won a victory (12th January, 695),|| which, however, was clouded by the almost com-

* IA 4, 263.

† K 654; IA 4, 279.

‡ K 662. IA 4, 297.

§ IA 4, 307. On Hajjaj, see Wellhausen's Arab Kingdom and its Fall (Calcutta University Press), and Perier's Hajjaj, Paris (1904).

|| IA 4, 315, 3.

plete destruction of the Kufan contingent. Henceforth the Azraqites were expelled once for all from the plains, and could only maintain themselves in the steep and impassable mountains of southern Fars and Kirman. This last phase of the war offers but little that is striking or noteworthy. The two armies continually skirmished with each other without substantial results. Although Hajjaj from time to time sent reproachful messages to Muhallab for his long-protracted campaign, Muhallab preferred hemming in the enemy by skilful strategy to risking a great battle, and, perhaps, courting a defeat.

Even the disputes that arose among the Azraqites were of great service to him. According to one report he is said to have fomented these disputes. Qatari ibn el-Fujâ'a was deposed by a section of his followers for various unpopular measures imputed to him, and after a short street fight was expelled from Jiruft, a town in Kirman, with all who stood by him.* Now that Muhallab had quietly rid himself of Qatari, he could attack the weakened band of the Azraqites left behind at Jiruft and destroy them in a desperate battle. Qatari, with all his followers, was slain somewhat later in Tabaristân by a body of troops sent by Hajjaj.†

Thus was the dangerous sect of the Azraqites wiped out from the face of the earth and ceased to appear henceforward in history. Some of their views, such as the one which consigns children of ' infidels ' to Hell, occur in other sects of later date.‡

* Muhallab had shut him and his followers in Jiruft.

† K 671-694. IA 4, 353-359.

‡ Shahrastani, 96.

After his separation from Nâfi, Nejda* returned to Central Arabia and was soon chosen Caliph by the Kharijites there. It seems that even before this he enjoyed considerable influence there.† After he had subdued the clans of Abd 'el-Qais, hostile to the Kharijites, and others,‡ he gained a victory over a Basran army sent out by Musab under Abdullah ibn Omeir el-Leithi (686),§ and thenceforward, down to about 690, marched almost through the whole of the Arabian peninsula as lord and master. It is even reported that Abdul Malik wanted to make him his governor of Central Arabia and corresponded with him on the subject,—of course with no result.||

During one of his campaigns Nejda happened once to reach the vicinity of Mekka at the time of the pilgrimage, which gave him the opportunity of taking part in the holy ceremony ; for Abdullah ibn Zubair was too weak to refuse permission to him, and had to come to an agreement with him whereby each of the two chiefs was to lead the prayer among his followers at the pilgrimage.¶ Nejda's attempt to capture Medina, however, failed, and he found himself compelled to retire to Central Arabia where he was deposed and murdered (about 690) by a sec-

* IA 4, 86. He is also called en-Nakha'î.

† Tab. II, 401, 20.

‡ Anon., pp. 131, 132. Just as in our own time the Wahhabis have many opponents among the Arabs in Najd, so also had the Nejdites there in their days. The reason in both cases is precisely the same: the strong ascetic colouring of their faith. On the strong resemblance between the Wahhabis and the Nejdites I need not dwell here any longer.

§ Anon., p. 133.

|| Anon., p. 143.

¶ Anon., p. 137.

tion of the Kharijites who were dissatisfied with him,* and who had chosen a certain Abu Fudeik as Caliph. About a year after his election Abu Fudeik defeated a Basran army under Umayya, brother of the Governor Khalid ibn Abdullah, but, in the following year, was conquered and killed by Omar ibn Obeidullah ibn Mamar.† Some ten years later a Kharijite called Masûd ibn Abi Zeinab, is said to have subdued Bahrain and Yamâma and ruled over them for nineteen years.‡

Not long after the overthrow of Abu Fudeik a fresh band of Kharijites made its appearance in the north of Iraq. About this time Kharijites appear also in the neighbourhood of Mosul; probably they were those who had fled there to escape the persecutions of Obeidullah ibn Ziyâd.

One of these, Sâlih ibn Musarrih et-Tamîmi, resolved, about the year 695, to march against Mohammed ibn Merwan, Governor of Mosul. He set out with about a hundred companions, seized a number of camels belonging to the Governor and roamed about in Mesopotamia.§ After fights with varying success his followers were beaten by the troops of the Governor and he himself was slain.

* Anon., 143. ' Atiya ibn el-Aswad, another companion of Nejda, also parted from him, apparently for purely personal reasons (p. 142), and went to Sijistân where he secured many followers and struck coins of his own (p. 135). On the latter point I have no further information. Regarding matters for which they blamed Nejda, *cf.* pp. 142, 143; Shahr., p. 91. These negotiations with Abdul Malik certainly contributed to his fall.

† IA 4, 281. *Cf.* K 662, 1. IA 4, 294.

‡ IA 5, 89.

§ IA 4, 317, 318. Already before Salih, a Kharijite called Fadâla ibn Sayyar, had made a raid but had been killed by the 'Anaze, who were rewarded by Abdul Malik for it. *Cf.* IA 4, 321.

But his successor, Shebîb ibn Yezîd esh-Sheibâni, by a bold night-attack from a stronghold, in which he had been shut in, inflicted a complete defeat upon the enemy.

Henceforth, until his death, the history of Shebîb consists of a series of victories which he won over the troops of Hajjaj; he met but rarely with reverses.* On one occasion he ventured to penetrate into Kufa and hem in Hajjaj in his own citadel;† but two other attacks on the capital failed,‡ and, not long after, Shebîb, by an unfortunate accident, lost his life in the river Kârûn in Khuzistan after gaining some advantage over a Kufan army.§ It is noteworthy that this insurrection, like so many later ones in that part of the country, proceeded from the Sofrites who, according to tradition, were the least fanatical of the Kharijites. Once more this brings home the truth that it is not altogether wise to lay too much stress upon the theoretical differences between the Qa'ad and the Shurât.

With the suppression of these insurrections the history of the Kharijite wars during the first century ends. The severe administration inaugurated by Abdul Malik, continued by his immediate successor, would not let the disturbing elements come to the fore again. Under Omar II, who loosened the reins of government, we once more notice small insurrections. From the time when the Omayyad rule begins to totter and to fall, the

* IA 4, 320. Shahr. 95.

† IA 4, 328.

‡ IA 4, 327, 344.

§ About the beginning of 699. IA 4, 349. On the campaigns of Shebib, *cf.* Weil I, 439, Note 2.

Kharijites become bolder and yet bolder, until during the last struggle of Merwân II with the Abbâsids, they once more attain great power in Mesopotamia under the Sofrite Dahhâk ibn Qais esh-Sheibani,* and in South Arabia under the Ibâdite Abu Hamza (Mukhtâr ibn 'Auf).†

But already before Omar II a change had come over them; for expelled from their original homes they fled to the ends of the Empire and there came into contact with the non-Arab peoples, who to a considerable extent won them over to their views and absorbed them. By this process the special Arab stamp of the Kharijites was gradually lost.‡ A further change manifests itself in the fact that a body of the Kharijites actually negotiated with Omar II and seemed inclined to acknowledge him as Caliph, despite his kinship with the hated race of the Omayyads.§

On the other hand, during this period more and more sects grew up among the Kharijites. The party resolved itself into a number of independent groups. for the most part mutually hostile to each other. Each of these groups maintained and defended some special opinion of its own. At the outset these disputes centred round the particular views of the Kharijites which had led to the schism in the earlier times. But along with them the Kharijites now interested themselves in the discussions common to Islam on free will and other controversial subjects, always of course in their own way

* IA 5, 254, 265. Kitab el-'Oyûn, 157.

† IA 5, 267, 285, 297. Kitab el-'Oyûn, 167.

‡ Already among the Azraqites half of them were of non-Arab descent. *Cf.* K 683, 4.

§ IA 5, 82. Kitab el-'Oyûn, 41.

and from their own angle of vision, but with the result that almost the very same differences arose among them as among the rest of the Muslims. This led to a complete abandonment of the old Kharijite principles, which originally had nothing whatever to do with *theological speculations*.

It is difficult, if not impossible, to draw a picture of the development of these sects from available materials. The authors of works dealing with these subjects, such as Ibn Hazm* and even Shahrastani, had not that historic

* Ibn Hazm (*circa* 994-1054). His ancestor Yazid was a Mawla to Yazid ibn Abi Sufyân Sakhr ibn Harb ibn Omayya ibn Abd........., the Omayyad, and the first of the family who embraced Islam (Ibn Khall., Vol. II, p. 267). He had been at first a follower of the Shafite sect but abandoned it for that of the Dahirites. (On Dahirites, see Macdonald, *Develop. of Muslim Theology*, p. 108.) The Dahirites differed completely from the Hanafite sect in rejecting Qiyâs (Ibn Khall. II, 272). Von Kremer (*Gesch-der herrsch. Ideen des Islams*, p. 124) says that Ibn Hazm was of Christian origin and that his father was a *Wazir* under the dynasty of the Amrides. He himself, as a zealous supporter of the Omayyads, played a distinguished political rôle and became the great Wazîr of Abdur-Rahmân V. He has written several famous works, among others a history of the Omayyads under the title of *Nuqtatu-l-Arûs; Milal wa'n-Nihal*, dealing with religious and philosophical sects and religions generally (now published) and *Jamharatu'n-Nasab*, dealing with genealogy. There is a splendid MS. of this work in *the Khuda Bukhsh Library* at Patna. The MS. does not give the date when it was copied but on the fly-leaf the year 785 A.H. is mentioned as the date on which this copy passed into the possession of one Syed Ali Ibn Syed Mahdi, who claims descent from Idris, the ruler of Faz (Fez). In my *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization* I have published an extract from this MS.

Prof. Friedlaender has published an English translation of the section of Ibn Hazm's *Milal* dealing with the Shiites in Vol. XXVIII of the *Journal of the American Oriental Society*.

"Abu'l Fath Muhammad, received the appellation of Al-Shahrastani," says Cureton, "from Shahrastan, his native place, a city in the province of Khurasan."[1]

According to the authority of Al-Samani, who reports his own statement, he was born in the year of the Hijrah 479, or A.D. 1086. Ibn Khallikan,

sense which would have enabled them to follow up the evolution of these sects. They represent the sects as readymade theological schools and classify them accord-

who cites this account from Al-Samani, observes also that he had found among his own memoranda a note attributed to this same author, assigning the date of his birth to the year of the Hijrah 467; but at the same time he makes the remark that he had forgotten from what source he had taken this note. Al-Shahrastani studied Jurisprudence under Ahmad al-Khawafi and Abu Nasr al-Cushairi, in which science, as well as that of Scholastic Theology, he attained great distinction: his preceptor in this latter branch of study was Abu'l-Qasim al-Ansari. He was an adherent of the sect of the Asharites, of whose tenets he has given an account in the work before us.

In the year of the Hijrah 510, as stated by Ibn Khallikan, he made a visit to Baghdad, and continued to reside there for three years, being treated with the greatest attention and respect.

He is said to have been in the habit of frequently repeating the following words of Al-Nazzam al-Balkhi: "If discord could assume a visible form, men's hearts would be terrified at the sight of it, and the very mountains would tremble: its burning heat would be more intolerable than that of the glowing coals of the Gada; and should the inhabitants of Hell be tormented with it, they would be glad to fly for refuge to the punishments which they now endure, as to a place of repose." Al-Shahrastani died in his native city in the year of the Hijrah 548, A.D. 1153.

He is the author of several important works. Ibn Khallikan mentions three: 1. Nihâyat al-Iqdâm fi ilm al-Kalâm; 2. This present work; 3. Talkhîs al-Aqsâm li-madhahib al-Anâm. To these Ibn al-Mulaccin adds a fourth, called Masaraat al-Falasifat, and Abulfeda a fifth, named Al-Manahij. He wrote likewise an account of Philosophers, entitled Tarikh al-Hukama, and probably also other works; he speaks himself of one in the book before us. But the most celebrated of all his labours is his Treatise on the Religious and Philosophical Sects, which was composed, as it appears from his own statement, about the year of the Hijrah 521, A.D. 1127.

After five introductory chapters, the author proceeds to arrange his book into two great divisions; the one comprising the Religious, the other the Philosophical Sects. The former of these contains an account of the various sects of the followers of Muhammad, and likewise of those to whom a true revelation had been made, Ahlu'l-Kitâb, *i.e.*, Jews and Christians; and of those who had a doubtful or pretended revelation *man lahu shuhbatu'l Kitâb*, such as the Magi and Manicheans. The second division comprises an account of the philosophical opinions of the Sabeans, which are mainly set forth in a very interesting dialogue between a Sabean and an orthodox Muhammadan;

ing to their own artificial scheme without reference to any chronological sequence.

The only really reliable authority that we possess on the history of the earlier Kharijites is the *Kâmil* of Mubarrad, in which the old Kharijite views have been preserved and handed down.

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of the tenets of various Greek Philosophers and some of the Fathers of the Christian Church; and also of the Muhammadan Doctors, more particularly of the system of Ibn Sina or Avicenna, which the author explains at considerable length. The work terminates with an account of the tenets of the Arabs before the commencement of Islamism, and of the religion of the people of India." Shahrastani has been translated into German by Theodor Haarbrücker (Halle, 1850).

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IBN KHALDUN AND HIS HISTORY OF ISLAMIC CIVILIZATION.

I

HIS LIFE AND WORK.

At the time when the great intellectual activity of the Arab people passes its meridian glory and signs of decay reveal themselves on all sides, it is singular that a bold, independent thinker should rise among them, scanning the progress of civilization and fashioning a conception of history at once original and sublime.

Ibn Khaldun is the name of the distinguished scholar who among the historians of the East holds a position of undisputed supremacy. Not only did he write a history of the Islamic peoples from a new and an independent point of view, but he dedicated his special attention to its cultural side. And it is with just self-confidence that he points out that he was the first to write such a work.

The stirring times in which he lived, the influential rôle which he, as a *savant* and statesman, played, may well have helped him much in shaping and attuning his mind to that task.

Born in Tunis in the year 1322 and connected with one of the most influential families of Seville, in his twentieth year he filled the position of Secretary to Sultan Abu Ishaq II, of the Hafaside dynasty, exercising at least in name, authority over Tunis. But he soon gave up this position and repaired to Fez, the capital of the Sultans of the House of Merynides. Here, in the secre-

tariat of the Sultan Abu Inan, he secured a post, but he soon fell into disfavour. He was thrown into prison, and not until the death of the Sultan in 1358 did he regain his freedom. Once again he played an important political rôle and managed to obtain the private secretaryship of the new ruler. An insurrection, however, overthrew the Sultan, and under the new ruler his position became one of great difficulty. He then turned to Spain (1362) where Ibn Ahmar, King of Granada, to whom he had earlier rendered important services, received him with open arms. A year later, as ambassador of his new master, he went to Seville, the town of his forefathers, to the court of Peter the Cruel, King of Castille, who accorded him a warm reception. The king proposed that he should remain at his court and wanted even to restore to him in Seville the patrimony of his family.

To Granada, however, he returned; where he lived happily until an unpleasantness between him and the Wazir Ibn Khatib induced him to return to Africa (1365). He settled down at Bejaya (Bougie) whither the Hafaside prince had invited him. Not long, however, did he enjoy peace. A neighbouring ruler, the prince of Constantine, conquered the town. Ibn Khaldun, therefore, turned his steps to Telmesan (Tlemsen) where the ruler, Prince Abu Hammu of the family of Abd-al-wad,* appointed him his secretary. In 1370, when a war was impending between his master and the Sultan of West Africa of the dynasty of the Merynides, he asked for and obtained permission to travel back to Spain. But, just when embarking, he was arrested, at the instance of the Merynide Sultan, Abdul

* *Sic.* Ed. "I. C."

Aziz. After a short trial he was set at liberty and was admitted to the favour of the Sultan who, knowing the great influence which Ibn Khaldun wielded over the Arab nomad tribes—a very important political element—wanted to make use of him. When Abdul Aziz died, he continued in the service of his son Abu Bakr Sa'id who, under the guardianship of the great Wazir, carried on the administration.

In the meantime the King of Granada interfered with the inner affairs of the Merynide State. He declared himself against the minor and set up a pretender to the throne. This led to a war between Granada and the Merynides. The war ended with the deposition of Abu Bakr Sa'id and the enthronement, in his place, of another of the same House.

In these circumstances Ibn Khaldun begged and obtained permission to return to Spain (1374), but suffered the misfortune of being expelled at the instance of his *quondam* patron, the King of Granada. On his return to Africa he found himself in a perilous position. He would not enter the territory of the Merynides, and in the country of the Sultan of Telmesan, whom he had left earlier with defiance and insolence, he did not feel quite safe. He, however, responded to the call of the Sultan and went to Telmesan, but sought safety in a cloister of *Derwishes* and availed himself of the first opportunity of leaving the territory of the Sultan. He then settled down with his family at Kal'at Ibn Salama, an out-of-the-way little town in the modern Province of Oran. For four years he remained here in the old castle, the ruins of which may yet be seen, and here he completed his history of Muslim civilization.

At the end of 1378 he proceeded to Tunis to collect materials for his general history. There, under the Hafasides, lively was the intellectual life and rich the collection of books in mosques and colleges. The Sultan Abul Abbas personally interested himself in the success of his history. Here Ibn Khaldun completed the portion dealing with the Berbers and the Zenata tribes; the two dynasties of the Omayyads and the Abbasides; the pre-Islamic history; and presented a copy to the library of the Sultan. After four years' stay he was compelled to leave by reason of an intrigue carried on against him with the Sultan. He sought permission to make the pilgrimage to Mekka, and then, leaving his family behind, set sail in a ship bound for Alexandria (1382). From Alexandria he went on to Cairo, where he was appointed chief judge (1384) to administer justice according to the Malikite law. In this office he showed great firmness in removing countless abuses and malpractices. He adopted stringent measures against the officers of *Diwans*; against theoretical and professional jurists; against *Derwishes* who under the cloak of piety, mixed themselves up in all affairs temporal. In so doing he made numerous enemies who calumniated him to the Sultan.

To this was added a grave misfortune. His family, which he had left behind to take ship at Tunis, perished n a storm on the voyage. Thus placed, he longed for eace and quiet, and eventually succeeded in resigning is office. Henceforth he devoted his entire time to udy and literary occupations—only once interrupted by pilgrimage to Mekka.

In the year 1400 he accompanied the ruler of Egypt Syria on a campaign against Tamerlane. He was

taken prisoner, but soon managed to effect his release. He then returned to Cairo where, more than once, he acted as judge. On the 15th of March 1406, at the age of 74, he died.

We must know the fateful, eventful life of the man to understand his mental drift and literary activity. He lived at the time of the general dissolution of the old Arab world. Already some time before, the empire had been replaced by numerous Sultanats and feudal overlordships, constantly at war with each other, hastening on the general wreck of existing conditions. The idea of nationality, strikingly evidencing itself in the wars of the Berbers against the Arabs, showed clearly enough its strength as a state-forming factor.

Relying upon the observations of such events, Ibn Khaldun puts forward his views regarding the rise and fall of States and the influence of nomad and settled elements in national life. He regards history not as an account of political events or a story of successive dynasties, but as a portraiture of the intellectual and moral development of peoples.

Says Ibn Khaldun : ' History should aim at shedding light on the social groupings of men ; that is to say, on society and the various stages through which it passes in the natural course of events. It should shed light on its passage from savagery to greater and yet greater refinement of manners and customs ; on the realization of the common interests of family and tribe ; on the various ways in which one nation gains predominance over others, leading on to the establishment of empires and dynasties and, finally, on all the changes, which in

the course of natural events, affect the character of society.'*

To this definition of what he considers the main task of history, he adds his views on historical criticism. He sets down, as the primary and not the least important cause of the manifold errors of historians, a defective understanding of the task of history and the want of knowledge of the nature of the conditions created by the very constitution of society.† This idea he thus develops further : In the study of human society the rule to employ is to distinguish truth from falsehood and to appreciate the possible from the impossible; to discriminate between that which is of its very nature essential and that which is accidental and of no consequence; finally to seize upon that which should be ruled out from the very beginning.‡

With an almost child-like confidence, which finds its explanation and justification in the lively imagination of the Arabs, Ibn Khaldun assures himself of the discovery of an infallible touchstone of truth.

Proceeding on the lines indicated, we have, says he, a sure rule for detecting, in the accounts of events handed down, truth from falsehood, and a manifest method admitting of no doubt. When we hear of an event happening in human society, we are at once in a position to determine how much we should accept as true and how much we should reject as false. We possess, in this rule,

* French tr. by de Slane, 1,71. Quatremère's Arabic Text, p. 51. Throughout this paper the first reference is to the French translation and the second to the Arabic text.

† 1,73 (57).

‡ 1,77 (61).

an unerring touchstone wherewith the historian can test facts with precision.

We here see that the Oriental and specially the Arab, standing under the severe discipline of the scholastic-dialectic method, is under a disadvantage compared with an impartial philosopher. He fashions a rule of general application and seeks to judge events *a priori*, according to it, without thinking how difficult it is, in any given case, to ascertain the truth and how impossible it is to fix a general standard, in advance, for all cases and to hold by it as an unfailing formula. But, apart from this weakness, we must acknowledge, in these efforts of the Arab statesman to determine the laws of history, a rare independence of enquiry and boldness of thought, which alone suffice to assign him a distinguished place among the philosophic historians of the Middle Ages, whose incontestable pioneer he was. We must not, however, forget that, in spite of the deductive method which the above quoted rule implies, Ibn Khaldun carefully cites facts in support of his conclusions. On the whole, he is pre-eminently inductive, and this is abundantly clear from the fact that to establish his general ideas on the philosophy of history he made extensive researches, the results of which lie before us in his general history. He particularly stressed the comparative method—the comparative survey of facts—and yet that did not preclude him from theorizing and speculating upon the results of his researches.* Thus justly he says of his work : ' It is a science by itself, for it sets a very definite object before it ; namely, civilization and human society. It

* Vol. I, 77 (61-2).

deals with the different questions which serve to interpret and explain facts intimately connected with the essence of civilization. The sections, in which I treat these subjects, contain a branch of science remarkable alike for its originality and utility. They are the fruits of protracted reflection and unwearying research.' We must not take it as a mere Eastern phrase, when Ibn Khaldun ascribes the new direction he had given to historical enquiry to divine inspiration and higher guidance, and concludes with the verse of the Qur'an : ' For God guides with His light him whom He finds pleasing unto Him.' (Sura XXIV, *v.* 35.)

The acuteness of his historical conception corresponds perfectly with the plan of his work. Man is distinguished from the rest of the creation, says he, by qualities which are peculiarly his own. Among others are the following : (1) Man is distinguished from animals by science and art—products of reflection ; (2) the need of a controlling, restraining authority. Of all living creatures man is the one who cannot exist without this. However much the bees and the locusts show some semblance of government—with them it is the outcome of instinct, not of reflection ; (3) the capacity for work and acquisition, which supply him with the necessary means of subsistence ; (4) the tendency towards association, which brings him together in towns or in tents. This tendency to society and the pressure of needs give rise to mutual assistance in the pursuit of the means of subsistence; (5 & 6) the state of association in its two-fold phase, (*a*) nomad life, (*b*) settled life. In both these instances the form of society causes changes of capital importance.

In pursuance of this plan Ibn Khaldun divides the first book into six sections: (1) on human association in general and on the differences of race and country; (2) on association among the nomads, specially in reference to half-wild tribes and peoples; (3) on the forms of government, the Caliphate, the kingship and the posts necessary in each form of government; (4) on the characteristic features of the civilization of settled peoples and the importance of towns and provinces therein; (5) on trades and crafts and the various modes of acquiring wealth and means of livelihood; (6) on sciences and the means of acquiring a knowledge of them.*

It is not the object of this paper to pursue Ibn Khaldun any further in his outlined plans. It suffices to indicate the drift of his thought and to give an idea of his conception of history.

From this plan of his work it is apparent that he understands by the history of civilization an account of the entire activity of a people in domains spiritual and material—not unlike the modern European conception of the science of history.

And if there is anything which astonishes us, it is the fact that, though a Muslim, he does not assign to religion a place of importance as a formative element in civilization. Its importance as a political factor he fully recognises, but ignores its metaphysical and transcendental side altogether. Here, too, Ibn Khaldun is the first representative of an intellectual tendency which manifested itself in the West only five hundred years later.

* 1,85 (68).

II

Effect of Climate and Food upon Physical and Spiritual Development.

The author of the cultural history of the Arabs manifestly ascribes to the material conditions of life a great and lasting influence on the physical and spiritual development of nations. This question, illustrated in recent times in numerous ways, was discussed by Ibn Khaldun five hundred years ago. Indeed the idea is expressed, though in a crude way, earlier still by a well-known writer, Jahiz, who discusses the sudden transformation of men into wild animals, referred to in the Qur'an. He collects the opinions of philosophers—the most striking being that, though a sudden transformation is impossible, there is a gradual change, explicable by analogous cases observed in nature. It is thereupon pointed out that in course of time, air and water exercise a considerable influence on the development of man, as is best observable in negroes (Zing) and Slavs (Sakalibah) and in the inhabitants of Yagug and Magug (*i.e.*, of Tartary). We observe, adds this author, like phenomena in the Arab colonies settled in Khorasan. Similarly we observe the peculiar features of the Central Asiatic countries, and note how the camels, the beasts of burden, and all other animals—tame and wild—adapt themselves to natural conditions. Thus we see all insects living upon vegetables and flowers, green in colour—though these very insects, in other circumstances, are differently coloured. Take for instance the tribe of Sulaim, living in a volcanic region. They are all of dark complexion,

men and animals alike. It is related by many that they have seen men of Nabatæan origin inhabiting the district of Mesene (Maisan) possessing tails, if not quite like that of a crocodile or a horse, yet like a tortoise or a mole; they have such developed buttocks that they look like tails. Often have I seen, adds Jahiz, Nabatæan sailors on the Tigris who appear ape-like, and not infrequently we see men from West Africa between whom and the animals there is but scant difference. This must be attributed to contaminated air, bad water, unhealthy soil. The inhabitants of such a locality, who, out of sheer attachment, will not leave their homes, become, through mere operation of external conditions, completely transformed in time. They get such growth of hair; such a red-burnt colour; and such ape-like figures as we have described.*

Ibn Khaldun's view of the influence of local conditions upon men and their culture is not so childish. It is, moreover, in complete agreement with facts. He follows the Arab geographers, who have divided the earth from the equator to the North Pole into seven successive zones. The first two, lying north of the equator, are exposed to the effects of the intense rays of the sun and are of high temperature. In consequence their inhabitants are distinguished by a dark skin, while the last two are distinguished by a low temperature and the fair skin of their inhabitants. By reason of harmonious proportion, the inhabitants of the middle zones, the third, fourth and fifth, are conspicuous alike for their physical and intellectual endowments. This evidences itself in their

* Jahiz, *Kitab-ul-Haiwan*, fol. 195-196. Vienna MS.

civilization, their mode of living, their science and art, their political institutions. They have had prophets. They have developed kingship, established dynasties, made laws, fostered learning, built towns, etc. The people who occupy these zones are the Arabs, the Romans, the Persians, the Israelites and the Greeks ; and so also the inhabitants of India and China.* To justify his views Ibn Khaldun mentions the cheerful, careless character (inclined to exuberance) of the negroes, which he accounts for by the high temperature of their country. The character of the inhabitants of North Africa surprisingly approximates to that of the negroes. The very same characteristics are found in the country called Belad-ul-Jarid, which, as is well-known, is extremely hot. Even in the Egyptians, whose country lies in the same zone as the above-mentioned country, we find the very same carelessness and easy manners. On the other hand the inhabitants of Fez in West Africa (Morocco) display the very opposite qualities. Surrounded by inclement, high plains, they are just the reverse of the Egyptians, being serious, cautious, circumspect. Whereas in Egypt no one dreams of laying by provisions for any length of time,† the people of Fez often store supplies for a whole year.

Whoever intimately knows the countries, the inhabitants, here referred to, will confirm the observations of Ibn Khaldun. As regards the character of the Egyptians I have come to know it by long residence, and I record my

* Vol. I, 173 (153).

† I,176 (156). The Egyptians depend on their markets for their daily needs.

entire agreement with Ibn Khaldun. Wretchedly ruled and weighed down with oppressive taxes* as they have always been—they yet possess a fount of good humour and zest in life that no oppression or affliction can affect, much less exhaust. The ease with which the indispensable requirements of life are met and the mild climate are responsible for this position of affairs, but how enduring it is, a comparison between the present and the past clearly shows! Although five hundred years intervene between now and the days of Ibn Khaldun, there is yet no substantial change noticeable in the Egyptian character.†

The question of food is the next question which Ibn Khaldun takes up. Above everything else he calls attention to the fact that the wandering tribes, who depend for their sustenance on the milk and flesh of their flocks, and who hardly use cereals, are far superior in physical and spiritual powers to the inhabitants of settled countries living in comparative comfort and affluence. By better and more healthy external conditions the former are stronger and more highly developed physically. They have moreover a steadier character and keener perceptions.‡

By way of contrast he speaks thus of the townsfolk :§ In shamelessness they are unabashed. They use inde-

* This was written many years ago by A. Von Kremer. Tr.

† The tendency to asceticism, manifesting itself in the first centuries in Egypt, according to my opinion, was due to continence enjoined by Christianity.

‡ 1,178 (158).

§ Vol. II, 303 (258). *Cf.* Von Kremer's *Kulturgeschichte.* Here I may also refer to Schweiger Herrschenfeld's *Frauen des Orients* (1904). The chapters on 'Arab women' are brilliant and profound. Tr.

corous language, and the presence of relatives or females exercises no restraining influence upon them. Very different is the case in nomad life, where the esteem in which women are held will not permit of the use of an improper word in their presence.

Similar contrasts are shown between the wild animals of the desert and domestic animals fed on rich pastures. What a difference between gazelles, antelopes, ostriches, giraffes, wild asses, and the tame animals that are closely related to them. The gazelle is the sister of the goat, the giraffe of the camel, the wild ass and the wild cow correspond to the tame animals bearing the same name, and yet how utterly different are they from each other in the smoothness of their skin, in the lustre of their hair, in physical appearance, and in general intelligence.*

Food also affects physical and moral qualities. Religion and piety feel the effect of abundance of food. Among those country and townsfolk who lead a frugal life and are accustomed to hunger and abstinence from pleasure, the religious sense is much keener and stronger and a life of piety more general and widespread than among those who are lapped in riches and luxury. Thus it is that in large towns few are religious, for men live there in luxury and indulge in flesh, fat and flour; whereas in the country, where diet is more frugal, the very reverse is the case.†

This contrast between the simplicity of nomad life and the refinement and pleasure-seeking of towns, according to Ibn Khaldun, is significant in the general

† 1,180 (160).
* 1,178 (159).

historical development of man. The military spirit and the spirit of adventure receive sustenance and support from the simple life of the shepherds; in settled conditions, notably in towns, they dwindle and decay. But the nomads slowly advance from their primitive simplicity to greater and yet greater refinement. They gradually settle down and form themselves into a political community, or take possession by force of one already in existence, and set themselves up as its rulers, bidding farewell to their nomad life.* Under the influence of settled life, and the luxury and corruption of morals arising therefrom, they lose the qualities which fitted them for conquest and rule, and in course of time they become victims to the inevitable processes of degeneration.

This view of the course of history is rather one-sided, for it really applies to certain definite conditions obtaining in some Oriental countries where cultural development has not quite attained its highest stage. At the same time we cannot but confess, that with certain reservations the principle enunciated by Ibn Khaldun is sound.

III

The Ideal Basis of National Life.

The characteristic note of Ibn Khaldun's historical conception is that he finds in moral no less an importance than in material forces, *viz.*, the ideal basis of

* Of the numerous Oriental dynasties which were thus founded it is sufficient to mention here the latest, namely, the Kachars who are now ruling Persia.

national life. Despite the levelling influence of the Muslim outlook which disregards the linguistic and intellectual diversities of the nations under its sway it is amazing that Ibn Khaldun seizes upon and clearly expresses the distinctive elements in differing nations.

Apart from significant differences due to the division of human society into settled, town and country, life on the one hand and nomadic life on the other, he finds a purely ideal force which holds individual groups together. This purely ideal force he expresses by a word which may best be translated by 'communal sense' (Gemeinsinn). He traces its beginnings to the nomad life, where it stands out in bold and effective relief.*

Going back to primitive epochs when individual groups lead their unstable life, each by itself and for itself, ever in dread of attack, and therefore ever ready to protect its belongings, its women, children, servants and herds, against hostile raids, we find the consciousness of oneness tremendously powerful there, as most of the members of the tribe are actually linked together by the ties of kinship. Every one regards himself as part of the whole and the whole stands out for the individual. Such is the case with the wandering tribes of the desert. And this feeling is all the more effective, in that every individual warrior of a

* The word 'Asabiyyah' which is here translated by 'communal spirit' is rendered by de Slane by *esprit de corps*. In many cases it corresponds exactly with the modern expression 'idea of nationality.' Although this word is first used by Ibn Khaldun in this sense, it is not to be found in Ibn Faris (d. 390 A.H.), the author of the 'Mujmal.' On the other hand Jauhari, in the 'Sahah,' has it in the sense of 'partisan spirit.' It is derived from 'Asabah,' which means relatives on the paternal side. It goes back to 'Asab,' which means muscular ligaments. The meaning of the root is to find, to hold together.

tribe has but one supreme duty, one absorbing thought; namely, to protect his tribe and the members thereof. Hence one without trusty helpers and allies must perish in the struggle for existence.*

As the 'communal spirit' and the readiness to mutual help are founded upon a sense of kinship or common descent, it follows, as of course, that kinship should be deemed something sacred and be extended to its remotest limit, for through it does the tribe secure influence, respect, importance. Clients and slaves are included in the family, and as such share in its rights and duties. In this light, indeed, we must understand the tradition of the Prophet which says 'Study your genealogy to know who are your nearest kinsmen.' Obvious, then, is the great importance which, according to unanimous report, was attached to the knowledge of genealogy in Arab antiquity: proof of common descent would forthwith secure to the tribe as to the individual allies and helpers in the hour of danger.†

Completely cut off from intercourse with strangers, another consequence of desert life is that there people mostly marry among themselves and thus preserve the purity of their race. If intercourse with outsiders gets the upper hand. the tribe loses its special features and its sense of kinship. Moreover its sense of unity is thereby weakened, and as a tribe it steadily decays.‡ On the basis of the tribal organization Ibn Khaldun develops his theory of the rise, development and fall of Empires and Nations. The most important element here, as in the case of a

* 3,269 (234).
† 1,270 (234).
‡ 1,273 (238).

tribe, is the 'communal spirit' or as we should express it, in modern phraseology, *the idea of nationality.* No rule or dynasty can be founded, says Ibn Khaldun, without the support of the tribe (*i.e.*, of the people) and the communal spirit (*i.e.*, a strong sense of nationality).* The communal spirit (or the spirit of nationality) is alone decisive of the duration and vitality of the State; for it constitutes its animating force. The stronger it is, the stronger the State and the longer its existence. But this communal spirit is best developed in large masses.†

According to Ibn Khaldun the next State-forming factor—as important as communal spirit—is religion. Here Ibn Khaldun is faithful to the lessons of Eastern history since the rise of Islam. To make conquests the leader needs strong support and loyal following on the part of a band animated by one and the same feeling of homogeneousness. For such an end religion is the most powerful lever—for does it not silence petty jealousies and introduce a powerful sense of unity between tribes and tribes?

When a people, united by religious conviction, receives an impetus in a definite direction, it is simply irresistible. However numerous the population of an empire whose conquest is aimed at, yet if it has no uniting bond, it must, before such a people, totter to its fall.

In another passage he says: In wars success depends generally upon moral qualities which influence the mind and inflame the imagination. The numerical strength

* 1,318 (277).
† 1,335 (294).

of the troops; the excellence of weapons; and the fierceness of attack may well, on many an occasion, suffice to ensure victory, but these are really matters of lesser importance than moral qualities.*

Conquered, the subject races dwindle and disappear with an amazing rapidity because of their degenerate and decaying morals.†

In dealing with this account we must not forget that while pointing to communal spirit and religion as most potent elements in the formation of the State, Ibn Khaldun is fully conscious of a great difference in the chronological sequence of the two. While he traces the rise of the primitive State-system exclusively to the communal spirit developed among the members of the tribes, and the need of mutual help and protection. and designates it as the first cement of this primitive society, he is only too well aware that in those far-off times there can be no talk of religion, and that religion, as a State-forming element, appears much later in point of time. Those people who possess a revelation and follow the injunctions of the Prophets are much less numerous compared to the heathen who possess no such revelation. The latter constitute by far the larger portion of the earth's population and despite the lack of revelation they have had their dynasties and have left memorials of their strength and splendour‡ behind them.

Thus he shows that, however important religion may appear to him, a true Muslim, as a student of history,

* 2, 133 (120).
† 1, 307 (268).
‡ 1,90 (72).

in view of the Idea of Nationality he can assign to it but a subordinate place as a State-forming element.

IV

Forms of Society.

In the geographical conditions, obtaining in the Orient, which are precisely the same in Asia and the North African provinces under Arab rule—society shows itself in two essentially different forms: nomadic and settled life. Both are the necessary results of the external conditions in which society has developed there.

A glance at the countries under Islamic rule convinces us that everywhere large tracts of deserts and uncultivable lands interpose between lands actually under cultivation. Apart from Arabia the culturable parts of which appear almost like oases in surrounding deserts, there extends a not inconsiderable table-land between Syria and the region round the Euphrates suitable only for cattle-breeding. On either side of the Nile, Egypt, for miles and miles, is unsuitable for agricultural purposes, hemmed in, as it is, partly by stony and partly by sandy deserts. Despite the fact that, in antiquity, next to Babylon, Persia was the best cultivated of countries, it is now, for the most part, sterile, barren, uninhabited.

Thus since remotest antiquity the Near East and the African coastal tracts have been the home of a peculiar nomadic life which, from the days of the Biblical patriarchs, through the centuries, has continued more or less unchanged up to the present day. And yet, on cultivable lands, often in direct touch with nomads, ancient towns and civic communities grew up which

sheltered within their walls settled agriculturists and gave them protection against nomad raids.

This mutual contact between the nomad elements and the great towns, stretching back to hoary antiquity, introduced and stimulated higher culture among the wandering tribes of shepherds. This is clearly revealed in the oldest records of the Hebrews and is amply proved to have been the case with the Arabs, among whom the cultural life actually attained a high degree of refinement.

The reason is thus apparent why the historian of Arab civilization divides national life into two great classes : nomadic and settled, of which, naturally, to the first he points as the older of the two.

But he further differentiates the tribes belonging to the first class. The nomads of North Africa and Western Asia are exactly the same as they were in the days of Ibn Khaldun He observes that some carry on sheep, cattle or goat-breeding, and thus need luxuriant pasturage for their purpose. This accounts for their abstention from wandering far into the desert. Among these Ibn Khaldun reckons the Berbers, the Slavs, the Turks, and the Turkomans allied to them. But quite different, he finds the case with those tribes who mainly carry on camel-breeding. These are compelled to march far out into the desert ; for the camel needs desert plants for food and brackish desert water for drink. In winter these breeders live in the desert regions where they find not only mild and dry air but also places covered with fine sand needed for rearing the young of camels.

We know how difficult it is to rear the young of the camel from birth to weaning. The nomad tribes, con-

cerned with camel-breeding, lived in the desert which they traversed in all directions. Repelled from the borders of cultivated lands where they were alike feared and hated, they lived entirely in the desert, and were treated by townsfolk as untamed, predatory savages. According to Ibn Khaldun, to this class belong the Arab nomad tribes, the nomadic Berbers of Africa, the Kurds, and some Turkish and Turkoman tribes of the East. But most of all, the Arabs, he says, are addicted to the roaming life of the desert, for they almost exclusively carry on camel-breeding; whereas the others breed sheep and cattle as well.

For the understanding of these countries this division of the peoples into settled and nomadic is of vital importance. Nor should the further sub-division into wholly nomadic and half nomadic be lost sight of, for the latter constitutes the transitionary stage leading to the settled life out of which townships have sprung.

The great influence which the preponderance of the one or the other form of life exerted on the political history of the various countries of the Orient will be shown later.

The stability of the political institutions in the East stands in direct relation to the preponderance of agricultural and town elements over the nomadic.

V

Rise and Decay of States.

It is apparent from what has been said that the philosophic Arab historian, Ibn Khaldun, regards *com-*

munal sense and *religion* as the bases of an empire. His further proposition is but a logical consequence which need not surprise us, namely, that in countries inhabited by many tribes and diverse nationalities it is difficult to establish an empire. In such countries there is a welter of opposing tendencies and aspirations and, for that reason, very frequent are insurrections against the existing Government. And however much the Government may rely on the loyalty of its party, that reliance is vain and idle; for each tribe possesses its own special communal sense (or as we would say ' sense of nationality ') and is tempted to shake off the yoke and assert its independence.

In support of this proposition the history of North Africa, from the beginning of Islam to the days of Ibn Khaldun, is pressed into service. Its population, says the historian, consists of Berbers who are divided into numerous tribes, each pulsating with a strong communal sense. When the Arabs forcibly reduced them to subjection and converted them to Islam, at every opportunity they rebelled and abjured the faith imposed upon them. To this no less contributory was the fact that the Berbers lived a nomadic life and were organized in tribes whereby a sense of unity was keenly reinforced and fortified.* Far different, on the other hand, was it with those countries where no communal sense and feeling of tribal fraternity existed. There the Government had no revolts to fear or provide against, for revolts were extremely rare. And such is the case to-day, continues Ibn Khaldun, in Syria and Egypt, for there the people are

* 1,337 (296).

not banded together in tribes. Egypt is a striking illustration of this. Its ruler is pre-eminently secure from insurrections, defiance or resistance. Only two parties exist there: the ruler with his entourage, and subjects accustomed to unquestioning obedience. The Government, presided over by a Prince of Turkish descent and supported by a band of loyal men of that nationality, passes on peacefully from one ruler to another.*

In Spain, too, similar conditions now prevail. Its ruler is Ibn Ahmar. At its inception this dynasty was somewhat feeble, possessing but little military support. It originally belonged to an Arab family in the service of the Omayyads but had steadily dwindled numerically. When the Arab Government was supplanted by the Berber dynasties of the Almoravids and Almohades, the Arab population of Spain were violently dealt with by the conquering Berbers. This treatment stirred the wrath and resentment of the Arabs against the new *régime*. And thus, when the Almohades were tottering to their fall, the Prince of this House surrendered to the Christian King of Castille many fortifications, in the hope of securing his support in winning back Morocco, the capital of the Almohades, which had passed into the hands of the Merynides. The old Arab families, still in Spain, in whom the national spirit yet burned bright, availed themselves of this opportunity for banding together. Faithful to their traditions and little inclined to town-life or settled habitations, they had retained their passion for military service. Ibn Hud (Prince of Saragossa), Ibn Ahmar (Prince of Granada), and Ibn

* 1,338 (297).

Mardanysh (Ruler of East Andalusia) were descendants of such Arab families. The first took the lead, proclaimed the spiritual headship of the Abbasid Caliphs, and called upon the people to arm against the Almohades, and eventually drove the latter out of the country. But soon the Prince of Granada sought possession of the highest power and, refusing to acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Abbasid Caliph, he caused Ibn Abi Hafs, the leader of the Almohades in Africa, King of Tunis, to be proclaimed sovereign, and also caused prayer to be offered for him as such. It was enough for him to seize the sceptre. His adherents, for the most part, were members of his own family and no other support was needed, for the tribal spirit had no significance among the people of this country. There were only the rulers and the ruled.*

These observations, on the differences between countries animated by the tribal spirit, and those animated otherwise, are pursued in another direction. In this connection Arabia is first singled out. There tribal organization has taken the firmest hold, and there, for that very reason, no strong government has ever been able to establish itself for any length of time. But this principle is extended and applied to other countries as well. Where else, except in the splitting up of the peoples into fragments, marked with intense feelings of independence (each fragment retaining its peculiar characteristics), lies the cause of the political and military impotence of Greece against the Romans? In Gaul the Romans destroyed all tribal differences and, with fire and sword, welded the people into one compact whole; where-

* 1,340 (298).

as in Germany the ancient tribal order, with more or less strong individual colouring, has continued up to this day. Only in consequence of military and political successes has the national idea recently gained ascendancy.

It is well to take such a survey from time to time in order to refresh our conviction that conditions, existing a thousand years ago, still exercise a determining influence upon the modern scheme of things, and that the entire cultural development of humanity is naught but the result of a process going on for countless centuries—of which the beginnings are dim and the end is in completest uncertainty.

Pursuing the development of the ideas of our author, his views on the course of history must next engage our attention. According to Ibn Khaldun the natural course of development is the following: Rise of society in consequence of man's instinctive social impulses—formation of tribes—predominating influence of one tribe over others and the beginning of kingship—development of kingship—passage from nomadic to settled life—rise of towns—increase of luxury with advancing civilization—decline of the ruling power and fate of the kingdom and the stepping in in its stead of one younger, stronger and more efficient. This process continues, endlessly repeating itself.

In various places thus does Ibn Khaldun speak. Its substance may be summarised as follows: According to physicians and astronomers the natural duration of human life is fixed at one hundred and twenty years of what the astronomers call the great lunar year. But this is not an unvarying duration, for duration is determined by

the conjunction of stars. Often, indeed, it is exceeded, and not infrequently it falls short of it. Thus some, born under a special conjunction of stars, live up to one hundred solar years; while many drop off at fifty, and yet others go on to sixty or ninety years. For the average man the duration is from sixty to seventy years, and this is confirmed by a tradition of the Prophet. Similarly the duration of an empire varies according to the conjunction of stars, but, as a rule, it never exceeds three generations. The life of a generation is the average duration of the life of a man, that is, forty years. Usually an empire never lasts longer than three generations. The first generation, verily, maintains its character as a nomadic people: the rough habits of a wild life, moderation, bravery, love of plunder, and the customary division of the supreme power. Thus the tribal sense of this generation remains absolutely unimpaired. Its sword rusts not. Its neighbours are kept in awe. Foreign tribes submit to it. Overlordship, and the affluence arising therefrom, affect the character of the second generation. They exchange the manners and customs of the nomadic for those of a settled life: need is forgotten in abundance, and division of the supreme power is lost in autocracy. All power and authority get centred in one, and the populace become too supine or indolent to wrest them back. Thus we find ourselves face to face with greed of power on the one hand, humiliation and subjection on the other. The communal spirit which once animated the people is now, in some measure, weakened; but, despite their degeneration, we yet notice in this generation a goodly display of the qualities distinctive of the last generation. It has

known their ways, their pride, their love of renown, their passion for fighting the enemy; and this, indeed, explains the continuance among them of the spirit of their forebears. It hopes some day to attain the excellences of the first generation—possibly it flatters itself that it actually possesses them.

The third generation completely forgets the nomadic life and the simple ways of the desert. It knows no longer the spell of fame and the force of the communal spirit, for it has grown accustomed to bow to the commands of a master and to yield to a life of luxury and ease. Such a populace is a burden to the empire. Like women and children they need a protector. The communal spirit having completely ebbed away from them, they lack courage to defend themselves or to take the offensive, against an enemy. And yet, by outward show and glitter, and by feats ostensibly chivalrous, they delude the masses. They are generally more cowardly than women. When attacked they are unable to defend, and the ruler thus has to fall back upon foreign mercenaries of tried valour and ability. He surrounds himself with freedmen and clients in numbers sufficient for protection of his realm.

Such are the three generations in the course of which the empire ages and decays. In the fourth generation power and glory vanish for evermore. The duration of the three generations is about 120 years—the usual term of a dynasty, unless exceptional circumstances intervene. Should it last longer—the prolongation is generally due to the absence of attack from without. But this is pure good luck. Decay, however, overtakes it ultimately, even if there be no external foe. Had an enemy ap-

peared earlier he would have met with no resistance. However that may be, the time of the fall of the dynasty at last comes; and no one can hasten or retard it even by an hour.

Empires, like individuals, have an existence, a life which is their very own. They grow, they mature, and then they begin to decay.* Only a few adapt themselves to their changing environments.

There are several phases of development through which an ordinary empire must needs pass, phases influencing the character of the ruling party and producing effects seemingly foreign to them; for human character is moulded by the environments in which it finds itself. In the life of the State, such phases may be limited to five in number.

The first is the phase of victory, of the conquest of oppositions, of the complete possession of the sovereign power, won over from those that held it before. During this phase the prince shares the sovereign power with the members of his tribe. He shares the Government with them and relies upon them for the collection of taxes and for the defence of the State. He enjoys no special prerogative. He is merely *primus inter pares*; for the communal sense, which led to victory, is still fresh, powerful, untainted.

The second phase is conspicuous for the exclusive possession of the rule by the prince. No longer do the tribesmen participate in the exercise of sovereignty, in fact, any attempt on their part, in that direction, is

* 1,347 (306).

resented and resisted. So long as this phase continues the prince, by bestowal of favour, enlists the support of influential men, and gathers around him clients and partisans in such numbers as enable him to suppress any attempt on the part of his tribe or kinsmen to claim or compete for a share in the government with him. He gradually rids himself of all rivals, until the sovereign power becomes exclusively his and of the nearest members of his family. He thus becomes the founder of a dynasty. He then wears out his strength in defence, as much as, perchance more than, his predecessors did in conquest. These only had a foreign people to fight against, and in their fight had the sure support of an entire tribe burning with the self-same fire of unity; while, in addition, the Sultan now has his own kinsmen to fight, with no other help than a number of foreign mercenaries.

The third is the phase of restoration and consummation. The Sultan now enjoys the fruits of his efforts. As a ruler of an empire he can indulge in all that enables men to accumulate riches and to leave monuments behind, or otherwise to attain renown. In the levying of taxes; in the control of income and expenditure; in the granting of rations and pay, he shows insight and economy which make it possible for him to build magnificent palaces, powerful castles, large towns and wondrous temples. He makes presents, consistent with his royal position, to foreign peoples and chiefs of tribes. Generous he is to his kinsmen, and to his supporters and servants lavish of gifts and honours. He personally inspects his mercenaries; assigns regular rations to them and, month by month, pays them their salaries. Clear enough is the effect of all this on their uniforms and weapons on festive

occasions. Thus he outshines the powers that are friendly and inspires terror in those that are hostile to him.

The fourth is the phase of peace and plenty. The prince, content with inherited glories, lives in peace with other princes and carefully follows in the footsteps of his forebears, convinced that departure from their ways would spell ruin to him.

The fifth is the phase of extravagance and maladministration. In pleasure and debauchery the prince spends the wealth hoarded by his predecessors; makes rich presents to his favourites and confers high offices on those that are the instruments of his lust and passion. Incompetent, these can but ill discharge the duties entrusted to them.

Thus does he offend the self-respect of the leaders of the people and of those who owe their rank and position to the beneficence of his ancestors, with the result that they are thrust into the background. Finally, even the troops desert him because, having squandered his revenues in debauchery, he has not enough funds to pay his mercenaries. Thus he destroys what has been founded by his sires and pulls down what they have built.*

From the above passage it is apparent that, according to Ibn Khaldun, history moves in a circle, repeating and ever repeating itself. We can, indeed, positively assert that Ibn Khaldun was not the first to put forward this view; in fact, it was given expression to long before him by the thinkers of the East.† Ibn Sab'yn, a famous

* 1,356 (314ff.).

† In this connection I may refer the reader to Prof. Bury's *Idea of Progress*—specially Chapter I, where the views of Bodin and Le Roy are discussed, pp. 37, *et seq*. Tr.

philosopher of his time, to whom Frederick II addressed a number of philosophical questions, is said to have expressed himself in a similar strain in one of his works, which represents the views of the Eastern mystics known as Sufis. A passage from the work of one of his disciples has come down to us, which says that after blindness and confusion truth and guidance were given through the medium of prophecy. To truth and guidance succeeded the Caliphate (union of spiritual and temporal sovereignty). This, again, was followed by worldly kingship, which in turn, degenerated into despotism, pride, self-exaltation. And so on.

With one voice the Sufis assert that in God's scheme of things every thing eventually reverts to its origin. Thus prophecy and truth must revive through the medium of the *walis* (Saints), then be succeeded by the Caliphate, and the Caliphate, in its turn, be replaced by the sway of the Antichrist (Dajjâl) instead of kingship and sovereignty. On the completion of this cycle there succeeds again a period of 'unbelief' followed by that of prophecy.* In the doctrine of the mystics the religious element plays a prominent part, namely, the return of prophecy; but only in the attenuated form of the *wilayah*, *i.e.*, leadership of the saints. With Ibn Khaldun, however, its religious aspect is completely shelved. His theory rests exclusively on political and social processes of development. And yet some influence is not altogether unnoticeable therein of the teaching of the Oriental mystics regarding the return of things to their origin; although, in the Sufistic system, what

* I, 192 (165).

always is in the forefront is the doctrine of the beginning and return of all things from and into God. In the opinion of Ibn Khaldun, the highest stage in the development of society is civilization, or more correctly stated, urban civilization. But as soon as it attains that height it begins to decline—not unlike animal life at a certain age.*

The fall of the Empire is but a natural process. It offers a complete analogy to decay due to age.†

Often enough a State, really at its last gasp, evidences strength, suggestive of a halt in its downward course, but, in truth, it is naught but the last flicker of a dying light.‡

According to Ibn Khaldun there are certain clear symptoms which accompany decline. We shall let him speak for himself :—Know that the State rests on two absolutely indispensable foundations ; first, material resources and communal sense, which reveal themselves in its military strength ; and secondly, financial administration, whereby the army is maintained and the needs of the State met. When decay sets in, its effect is first felt in these two directions. We shall begin with material power and communal sense and then pass on to finances and collection of taxes. Know that the foundation and consolidation of the Empire, as already stated, depend upon communal sense ; nay on that essential, unconditional, higher type of communal sense which unites and vivifies individual efforts into one indivisible unity. *It is naught but a complete identification of the*

* 2, 306 (240).
† 2, 120 (106).
‡ 2, 121 (108).

interests of the people with those of the sovereign. When unlimited power, effeminacy and suppression of individual parties show themselves in a State, the first to suffer by these changed conditions are the supporters and kinsmen of the ruler. They are more easily suppressed than outsiders, for, by reason of intimate touch with the throne, their exalted station in life, their pride, they become surer victims of effeminacy than those less fortunate or more distant from the regal atmosphere. Thus they stand under the bane of two destructive forces: power and effeminacy. And, as in the exercise of power the sovereign not infrequently resorts to capital punishment, bitter and bitterer become their feelings towards him. And this tension grows with the growth of sovereign power. On the other hand the anxiety of the ruler for his throne gradually transforms itself into fear for its stability, with the result that he proceeds yet more vigorously against them—executing them, humiliating them, dispossessing them of their property and depriving them of those luxuries which have become second nature to them. Thus they are killed or ruined and the sense of loyalty is dimmed or lost among them. That which held the scattered fragments in one solid block was this very loyalty or, in other words, the communal sense. Now that has loosened and collapsed and with it for ever has perished its unifying power. Instead of upon these kinsmen the ruler now falls back upon creatures of his own making. Out of these he forms a new party. Only it is not so compact or strong as the earlier one; for it lacks the tie of kinship and the divine strength residing therein. Thus the ruler loses his allies and kinsmen and with them their self-sacrificing love and devotion.

This position of things does not remain unobserved by other parties, who adopt a policy of increasing defiance against the ruler and his favourites. The Sultan eventually rids himself of his favourites and appoints others in their places. But even these do not escape the meshes of effeminacy. Thus, enfeebled by luxury, thinned down by the sword, they completely lose the force and fervour of loyalty and become little better than mere hirelings for the defence of the State.

But the decrease in their numerical strength means a corresponding decrease in the defenders of frontiers and provinces. Thus the subject races rise in the provinces against the Government. Pretenders and rebels hasten thereto to make a fortune or set up a dynasty, and the inhabitants thereof, assured of impotence on the part of Government, cast in their lot with them.

Thus do things progress, weakening and narrowing the power of the Government until rebellious conditions threaten the very neighbourhood of the Capital. In these circumstances, the State is often split up into two or even three sections, according to its original strength. A new party takes the lead, but it must needs accommodate itself to the party formerly in power and submit to its influences.*

As regards financial decay, every State, in the beginning, was formed out of nomad conditions. In its inception, therefore, the Government adopts a policy of fair dealing with its subjects. Moderate is its expenditure; considerate its attitude towards private property. Such a Government refrains from severity in the collec-

* 2, 123 (110).

tion of taxes; avoids exactions; shows consideration to officers of the State. Having no occasions for heavy expenses, it needs no large revenues. But, later, oppression comes into play. Kingship assumes a grand and mighty air; strays into luxury and license; multiplies its wants and expenses. The expenses of the Sultan and his officers increase; even the inhabitants of the Capital follow suit. Thus the need for raising the pay of the troops and the salary of officials presses home; for the people follow the Government in faith and habits of life. To increase the revenue the Sultan must introduce taxes on wares for sale in the bazar. In doing this he takes account, on the one hand, of the growing prosperity, as evidenced by the augmenting luxury of the populace, and, on the other, of the necessity for increasing the expenditure of the civil and military administration. But luxury knows no limit or moderation. It proceeds apace. The old market-taxes no longer suffice; rigorous measures are, therefore, enforced against the subject population in the shape of either an increase in the market-taxes or the introduction of monopoly.*

The mercenaries get out of hand, for they see the Government bereft of strength and national pride. They inspire fear. To forestall danger from them the Government enhances their pay and otherwise increases the military expenditure.

Nor are the other departments of the State more promising or less fraught with danger. In consequence of increased taxation larger and yet larger sums of money

* We must mention here that according to the theories of Muslim theologians and jurists market-taxes and monopoly are regarded as illegal.

pass through the hands of the tax-collectors. They indulge in display and ostentation, and lay themselves open to a suspicion that they are embezzling public funds. Nor does the voice of hatred and jealousy shrink from mutual attacks and accusations, with the result that, one after another, they are punished and their properties confiscated.

When this source of revenue is exhausted, the Government directs its attention to another quarter. It exploits the well-to-do private citizen. But, despite all this, palpably glaring is the effect of decay on the material power of the Government. No longer has it the strength or confidence to introduce or to enforce a drastic measure.

The Sultan at last seeks to capture and retain influence by money, which he considers more effective than the sword, now fallen on evil times. Thus money is required for other than the regular State charges and the pay of the troops. The weakness of the Central Government grows, and the inhabitants of the provinces become bolder and bolder. The ties of the State thus loosen, until they vanish altogether. Pretenders now try to seize the supreme power. They need but serious effort to attain success. And when this does not happen, the process of dissolution continues until (like the wick when the oil comes to an end) the State flickers and fades.

No Empire can have more than a limited number of provinces. To garrison them it must have a sufficient number of troops and this number will fix the limits of the empire. But this state of affairs only continues so

long as the original force of nomadism remains unimpaired. Gradually, however, the height of splendour is reached; revenues flow in copious streams; luxury increases; the town civilization makes gigantic strides, but the military spirit suffers decline, and pleasure and enjoyment sap vitality and bring effeminacy and demoralisation in their train. A yet further consequence is the awakening of ambition which spurs men on to contend for honour and influence. The Sultan, however, tries, by violent measures, to end this state of affairs. The Amirs and magnates perish; dependants and subordinates multiply; the State's power of resistance weakens. And, indeed, this weakness first evidences itself in the weakening of the military strength of the State. Moreover, the unrestrained expenses of the Sultan become far too great for the revenues which the State yields. Thus, weakness on the financial side—the second affliction of the State. Financial weakness, in conjunction with military weakness, leads, indeed, to decline and fall.

Though incompetent to stand up against neighbouring peoples, yet dissensions divide the prominent leaders one from another. The outlying provinces, availing themselves of the weakness of the Government, seek to shake off its yoke. Powerless, the Sultan is unable to bring them to book. Such the conditions, the frontiers steadily contract from where they stood in the heyday of glory. A new boundary, within the old, comes into existence. But the very same forces, with the very same results, operate. The weakness of the troops; their lack of any sense of duty; the shortage of money; the decline in the revenue—these operate upon the narrowed frontier in precisely the same way as they

did in the past in pushing back the frontier for the first time.

The Sultan sets himself to work. He begins to introduce changes in the military, financial and provincial administrations; to adjust revenue and expenditure; to make prompt payments of salaries; to follow as nearly as possible the procedure of the earlier days of strength and probity. But, all these notwithstanding, the decline continues uninterrupted. History repeats itself. The very same difficulties appear afresh, and the very same remedies are applied again, but in vain. Nothing checks or retards the growing ill. Once again the Sultan abandons the outlying provinces, confronted with the very same situation, which earlier had led to the contraction of the frontier.*

The last phase of a State's existence is generally marked by over-population and its concomitants, famine and epidemic. They become more and more violent and frequent† as the years roll on.

Mildness and moderation are the outstanding features of the newly-arisen State. If religion is its genesis, to religion it owes these qualities. Otherwise they must be set down to the credit of the lofty sentiments engendered by nomad life. Under a mild and just Government content and prosperity spread through the State. People work with enthusiasm and the population grows, but this increase in population does not generally show itself till after the first or the second generation. With the beginning of the third the State reaches its zenith and the population its greatest numerical strength.

* 2, 127 (114).
† 2, 138 (124).

Famine and epidemic then appear and become more and more frequent. In its last stage, indeed, the State realizes that famine is the necessary consequence of the abandonment of agricultural pursuits.

And yet the people will not take to them, so oppressive and grinding are the taxes and imposts; fierce and frequent is the unrest and rebellion consequent upon the growing weakness of the Government.

VI

Retrospective Survey.

Scarcely has any other religious system exercised so potent and so durable an influence as Islam on the mind, the civic character, the political and historical development of man. It has impressed its stamp on all who have subscribed to its creed, and the rolling centuries have in no way blurred or effaced that stamp. On this account difficult it is to form a true historical conception of its peoples, independent of their religious standpoint. In Europe, too, theological conceptions leavened historical activity right up to late in the Middle Ages. But in the processes of intellectual emancipation from the fetters of religious systems there is an essential difference between the East and the West.

While in the East, particularly in the countries of Arabic speech, an exceedingly rich and varied secular literature grew up, which found a warm welcome in the great mass of the cultural classes of the nation; in the West, the literary occupations, in the first half of the Middle Ages, remained the monopoly of the monasteries.

In the Empire of the Caliph literature became the common property of all the educated people. To it everyone who had the capacity or the inclination contributed in his own way. In the West it continued to be the privilege of a caste, which imported into its literary works the theories and prepossessions born of its particular education and upbringing, and resented every new independent tendency that deviated from, or clashed with, its inherited or acquired notions.

Thus early the Arabs established a secular literature of their own; whereas for many a long day exclusively religious remained the trend of Europe.

The great popular drama of the Crusades, which evoked a universal reaction in the shape of fanaticism and intolerance throughout the East, operated as a lively stimulus in Europe, diverting intellectual activities for the first time to secular streams. Thus it was that long before a survey of the general history of humanity was so much as thought of in the monasteries of Europe, the great mystery of life and of humanity was chosen as a subject of serious and fearless study by divers thinkers of Islam. The development of Arab historical studies did much to advance this line of enquiry. Nor were the philosophical speculations of the age without their contribution to this branch of study. Already in the third century universal histories were written in Arabic,* in which not only histories of the Muslim peoples but also histories of important foreign peoples, such as the Hebrews, Greeks, Persians, Indians and Byzantines, were treated. Despite the exclusiveness of

* Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies Indian and Islamic*, pp. 149 *et seq.* Tr.

Islam, the rapidly extending studies of Greek, Persian and Indian books, in Arabic translations, brought home to the Arabs the conviction of the culture of even foreign, humanity as a whole, and the keener the yearning to learn to respect and admire foreign ways and foreign culture, the more widespread became the impulse to know humanity as a whole, and the keener the yearning to learn the law and purpose in the seemingly confused and planless course of human history, drifting insensibly away from century to century.

Islam, in this, as in all other things, had its own definite lesson to teach: What God wills, happens. Vain and fleeting is the earthly life. Only the life beyond the grave has value and is eternal.

But so long as Islam was in its heroic age, the conquest and administration of conquered countries preoccupied the attention of the ruling class to such an extent that they had little leisure, and less inclination perhaps, to concern themselves with the more serious questions of man and his destiny. They lived in the crowded days of national glory, without thinking of the future. The observances of the outward religious duties—such as prayer, fasting, confession of the main articles of the Muslim faith—sufficed to ensure admission into paradise.

But scarcely had this period of heroic efforts ended and a halt in the process of development appeared, when Islam produced results, though owing to external circumstances, in the first century they were held in abevance. The life here below is considered as something secondary and of no consequence.

Thus it is that in the works of the Muslim theologians and, under their influence, in those of the poets and

literati, the theme of contempt for the world and of the vanity of earthly life recurs with steady and fond insistence. Not infrequently we find in the collections of Arab poetry a special class of poems (*Fi dimm-ul-Dunya*) headed 'In censure of the world.' The more desperate became the political situation of the Arab Empire, the more audible became this pessimistic strain.

With the lapse of centuries, however, Islam felt itself in a position to take a wide sweep of the course of history. Facts were well documented and a judgment based on facts was possible. The result of such a survey of even the first two centuries was hardly cheerful or comforting. True, a high, admirable culture, characteristically Oriental in the fullest sense, had developed; true, the victorious *Arabism* had extended its empire far to East and West, to South and North, from the Pillars of Hercules and the great ocean of the West to the Indian Ocean, and had come into touch not only with countries actually under its sway, but even beyond; yet the historical survey was neither refreshing nor cheerful.

What was wanting was political stability. Already in the second century, the Caliphate was in process of disintegration. The Governors of the provinces were gradually becoming founders of half-independent and, eventually, of completely independent dynasties. Sectarian disputes, even communistic movements, were shaking the empire to its foundations, and bold adventurers were carving pieces out of it for themselves. Even the subject races were beginning to rise, and, from among them, dynasties were being formed (Turks, Persians, Berbers). Such foreign rule—so keenly resented by the Arabs—henceforth became, with few exceptions (Arabia)

the normal order of things in the Arab Orient. Thus, to take one single instance—Egypt since 868 A.D. (the appointment of Ahmed Ibn Tulun as Governor), with the sole exception of the period covered by the Fatimides (969-1117), has been ruled by Turkish families up to quite recently.

A fugitive survey of these times brings home the fact that the fall of the Arab Empire was steadily consummated, and that in its place, there came something neither lasting, nor pleasing to the national spirit of the Arabs.

Can it surprise us, then, that in such circumstances an unrelieved pessimism should be the dominant note of the first Arab thinker of distinction to ponder over the great questions of human destiny, of the aim and purpose of life, of the trend of history; and that his philosophy should be nothing more nor less than a philosophy of despair that hopes for deliverance in the end of things terrestrial. For him life was a mystery that no wisdom could pierce or unravel.

Long, indeed, had he abandoned the theological standpoint of Islam; but, in its place, had found no substitute which could even approximately satisfy his inquisitive mind. "Nothing endures, everything is doomed to perish, even Islam itself. Moses taught and passed away. Christ succeeded him. Then came Mohamed with his five daily prayers. A new faith will come later, supplanting, outshining this. Humanity is thus hounded to death between yesterday and to-day."* Even to the doctrine of the return of things to their origin Ma'arri

* Ma'arri : Lozumiyyat. (Prof. Margoliouth has published his Diwan and has translated his letters. Salhani has rendered his quatrains into English. *Tr.*)

seems to have subscribed, for in another passage of the same poem he thus speaks of the world : What sort of fate is always thine in this world?—the light of sun and moon will not fail thee—their end is like their beginning —thus it is ordained—for morning and evening bring many wonders here below.

Ma'arri believed, however, in a definite spiritual ascent for man. Here is a passage which supports this view. Says he : three are the stages of creatures : *sublime spirits, men, unintelligent animals.* The exercise of virtue lifts man to the rank of pure spirits (angels), but indulgence in passion drags him down—down to the level of cattle, and that indeed is the lowest stage of creatures.

He regards world-history as an unending drama in which combinations are ever fresh and ever new—the same event never occurs in precisely the same way. Thus, at least, I interpret this poem :

Time, like a poem, eternally rolls on.

But the poet does not repeat the same rhyme right through.*

Thus did Ma'arri look upon the world : " Perishable is the earth. Its end is not unlike its beginning. To laws of birth and death everything is subject. On and on flows the stream of time, ever bringing something new. By the practice of virtue man may be ennobled, and by it attain the level of the higher beings."

More poetical than philosophical is this view, and it deserves notice on that score ; for it entirely abandons

* The original poem in Z. D. M. G. XXX, p. 47. Newman says : The past never returns ; the course of events, old in its texture, is ever new in its colouring and fashion. *University Teaching*, p. 17. *Tr.*

the traditional, theological standpoint. From numerous other passages in his philosophical poems it is apparent that Ma'arri taught a cult of moral purity, on a theistic basis, which unmistakably points to the influence of Buddhism with its stern morality and passionate yearning for Nirvana.

The following passage from a longer poem in which he sets forth his religio-philosophic faith, is decisive of this.

'Sick in intellect and faith—yet hearken to my announcement of truth. Show yourself not coarse by eating what has been thrown out of water—and adopt not as your food that which has been slain—consume not eggs, for their yolks are meant to feed developing chickens and not fair women. Practise not deceit upon birds who cannot defend their little ones, for violence is the worst of misdeeds. Disturb not the honeycombs of the bees, which they have diligently filled with the scented nectar of flowers. They have not been gathered for strangers, but are intended for presents and friendly gifts. From all these misdeeds I have washed my hands. Ah! only I wish I had thought of them before I became grey.

'O my contemporaries! do you know the secret that I know? But never shall I give that secret away. You follow the path of error. Ah! Why are you not led by the wisdom of men of Light? Ah! whenever the herald of spiritual blindness calls unto you—willingly his call you follow.

'Were the truths of your religion known to you, you would forthwith discover the infamous misuse of them. Follow Light and accept guidance. Stain not your sword

with blood—nor yet plunge your lances in gaping wounds. Delightful unto me are the ways of those that live like monks—only if they do not consume that which others have acquired by toil and effort. Verily, 'tis better to earn an honest living than to feed on others.' This poem proves the freedom of the poet from the theological shackles of Islam but, in one respect, he could not quite shake himself free. Like the theologian, he sets no value on earthly life and greets the release therefrom in the light of liberation. And thus he recommends celibacy. The Buddhistic influence is manifest here.

In the large circle of his contemporaries Ma'arri stands out in conspicuous isolation. There were few who held such beliefs, and none save he dared to give expression to them. Between 403-413 A.H. (1012-1022 A.D.) these verses were composed.

Remarkable it is that, while in Europe, precisely at that time, a bloody war of extermination was being waged against the Albigenses, in Islam the poet was allowed to avow and sing his note of free-thinking, without let or hindrance.

The writings of Ma'arri establish and proclaim one fact; namely, how little the old Islamic world-conception satisfied his craving for the solution of the great mystery, and how little it served to solve doubts when unquestioning faith once stepped down from its pedestal. Though so pessimistic his philosophy, it would perhaps have been more pessimistic still, had he lived on to witness the terrible times that followed. The progressive decay of the Muslim States brought in its train many a disenchantment to Muslims.

Devoted to their faith, graver and sadder and more disconsolate than ever must they have felt at the steady retreat of Islam and the growing strength of Christendom.

This became only too painfully striking in Spain. One town after another passed out of Moorish possession : Toledo in 1085, Huesca in 1096, Tudela in 1114, Saragossa in 1118, Cordova in 1236, Seville in 1248. And similar was the fate of Sicily, Sardinia, and the Balearic islands. In the East the Crusaders founded a Christian kingdom in the very heart of the Orient.*

Upon thinking men these events made a profound impression ; for despite the inner decay, people were wont to look upon the Arabs and Islam as under the special care and protection of the Almighty, and fondly to entertain the belief in the pre-eminence and high culture of the Muslim peoples. They never seriously imagined that the time was close at hand when foreign nations would, in their turn, humble or humiliate Islam.† Greater and greater became this impression as this became a greater and greater reality. In precisely the same proportion as Christianity won back in Spain her long-lost territories from the Arabs, the Arabs receded. Whoever could, migrated. Some to the southern portion

* Conder's *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem* and Stevenson's *Crusaders in the East* may be consulted with interest and profit. Tr.

† This reminds us of the beautiful pages in Gregorovius (*Rome in the Middle Ages*, Chapter I), where that great savant describes the optimistic confidence of the Romans in the continuance of their rule unto the end of time. Tr.

of the Peninsula, or (feeling insecure there) to the African coasts opposite. Thus numerous settlements of Moorish fugitives came into existence in the great towns of Africa. There they cherished the memory of their beautiful Andalusian home and there they mourned the loss of the Arab empire, which drafted them away to foreign shores. To one such fugitive Spanish family Ibn Khaldun was related. Although Seville, his native town, had fallen into Christian hands about eighty years before his birth ; yet the family traditions had not quite faded from his mind. News of fresh successes of the Christian arms in Spain reached Africa. These reports were calculated to draw afresh the attention of the Muslim peoples, specially those of North Africa, to the happenings there. In such circumstances and amid such events Ibn Khaldun grew up. Drawn early into the vortex of politics and court life he obtained first-hand information of both. Coming into contact with rulers of the various *Saltanats* and the Muslim kingdoms of Arab Spain, he learnt and realized the evils that had overtaken Muslim States. To his own personal observations were added his extended studies of universal history, which enabled him to bring a sharp and penetrating vision to the task of a comparative survey of the past and the present. Upon conclusions drawn from facts and observations he built his theory of the decay of States at a certain definite stage.

On the other hand the rapid rise everywhere of new, though in most cases, transient, political structures, led him on to the further assumption of steady and regular changes taking place between the decay and fresh formation of States.

Upon such observations, based throughout on actual facts, Ibn Khaldun developed his theory of political development.

Let us here note the characteristic features.

1. The social impulse is the primary cause of the union of men.
2. Out of this impulse arises the family and out of the family the community and the tribe.
3. The tribe constitutes the basis of political union.

Faithful to his pre-eminently empirical method Ibn Khaldun only cursorily touches upon the origin of States in general. He prefers to devote his attention to those periods, when the step forward from the family to the tribe and from the tribe to a political community has been taken. According to him these two, namely, the tribe and the larger political organization grown out of the tribe, exist side by side, each fighting for its own existence.

He does not, however, care to ascend the streams of primitive times or to speculate on the origin of society. He prefers to accept positive facts and to draw his inferences from them. Only on kingship, the rule of one, and the principles of monarchy, does he launch into a theoretical discussion. But this discussion already finds a place in the works of the earlier Arab authors such as Tartushi, Mawardi, and Ghazzali. Ibn Khaldun's theory is as follows: Kingship has its foundation in human nature. It is indisputable for the union of

human beings alone can give security and permanence to life. To obtain the means of subsistence and other needs men are compelled mutually to render each other assistance. On the other hand in man, in his natural state, very marked is the tendency to violence and plunder. He will not hesitate to rob, even at the point of the sword, what he wants from his fellow-man. Verily violence and hostility are the common features of all animals. Thus, in repelling an attack on person or property, fight and bloodshed are inevitable. To restrain this natural propensity, to hold it in check, a chief, a commander, is a positive necessity. But such a one has no power unless supported by a strong party. Such is the genesis of kingship. It is verily a lofty position and must, therefore, be upheld by a strong party.* Moreover, kingship (Ibn Khaldun does not forget to distinguish it from the Caliphate which pre-eminently has a religious character) is the natural outcome of man's ambition to arrogate the highest power to himself. This is manifest enough both in the case of a people formed out of a number of tribes and of a tribe formed out of a number of families. In the first instance one tribe will predominate; in the other one family. In either case the leader wields the supreme power; for were there several chiefs, vested with equal authority, the world would dissolve into chaos. In this connection apposite is Ibn Khaldun's quotation from the Qur'an (XXI, V. 22): Had there been in *heaven or earth* any one besides God, both surely had gone to ruin.

* I, 380 (338).

4. In the tribe the sustaining element is the communal sense or the Idea of Nationality. In the greater development, and notably in the greater and greater extension of the power of the tribe over larger and larger human aggregates, this communal sense, or the Idea of Nationality, is all-powerful.

As this communal sense—the feeling of cohesion and oneness—is particularly strong in the inhabitants of the desert—the nomads—Ibn Khaldun specially stresses it, and repeatedly exalts the moral and spiritual excellence of the nomads over the settled population, particularly the townsfolk.

Always warring with wants; ever ready to repel attack; accustomed to a simple, shepherd life, rich in renunciations; courage, perseverance, austerity of character—these are the most conspicuous virtues of the wandering tribes of the desert. These qualities enable them to rule the townsfolk, weakened by luxury, enfeebled by the sapping influences of despotism. The townsfolk, though originally of the same nomad origin, rapidly degenerate under a despotic form of government.

A despotic government enfeebles the people, destroys their vitality.* In this enfeebling process no less contributory is the system of education which instils servitude and dependence.† For reasons such as these a conquered people quickly declines and decays.‡

With a keen, piercing vision Ibn Khaldun portrays the condition of such a people. Yet his account only actually fits in with the conditions of the Orient in the

* 1, 265 (230).
† 1, 267 (232).
‡ 1, 307 (268).

Middle Ages. But it is apparent that as an accurate observer he has naught but the living reality before him.

When a people lose their independence, says he, they quickly perish. The reason lies in the depression of spirits which masters them. When conquered—through enslavement—they become hopelessly dependent, nay, mere tools in the hands of a foreign people. Hope weakens and languishes; population and riches decline, for these depend upon physical strength and prospects of reward. If, in consequence of defeat, hope wilts, and all that hope implies—no less disastrous is its influence on 'the communal sense' which equally weakens and withers. Thus the life of the subject races shortens; their resources fail them; their desire for acquisition dwindles and disappears. They become unfit for self-defence, for defeat has shattered their spirits and broken their strength. They become a prey to every enemy; the sport of all adventurers. Nor is it to be forgotten that man, by his very constitution, is divinely ordained to be the master of his own affairs and, in a certain sense, the ruler of nature. But the ruler, robbed of his rule and divested of his authority, frets and perishes. He even ceases to care for food and drink. Such, indeed, is the nature of man! And something akin to this we even note in beasts of prey. In captivity they do not pair. Thus with subject races strength falters and fails, and dissolution unto annihilation sets in.*

No less striking are his observations on the general tendency of subject races to ape the ways, to adopt the dress, to follow the fashion, even to echo the very

* 1, 307 (268).

opinions, of their conquerors. Ibn Khaldun points out that the desire of the conquered to imitate the conquerors is noticeable all over the world. But this is not all, he continues. Even neighbouring nations show a marked tendency to follow those that are superior to them in manners and customs. Ibn Khaldun cites the example of the Arab population of Spain and their relation to the Christians of the kingdom of Leon and Castille in support of his proposition. He says: You will, verily, find the Arabs imitating the dress and the ways of the Christians; nay, their very manners and habits. They even imitate their practice of painting the walls of their houses and castles with human figures. He who observes, with a thinking mind, will, indeed, perceive therein the tokens of impending fall (of the nation on the verge of decay).*

As a natural consequence of his empirical method Ibn Khaldun lays down that half-civilized peoples are more fitted to conquer than those possessed of a high degree of civilization.†

Of these the history of the East offers numerous examples, and some lay only too close at hand to Ibn Khaldun; *e.g.*, conquests of the Arabs, of the Berbers, of the Kurds, of the Turkomans.

5. Religion is the second bond of union of various tribes, and therefore an essential factor in the formation and continuance of the State.

In setting forth this proposition, decisive for Ibn Khaldun was the historical example of the foundation of

* 1, 307 (267).
† 1, 290 (251); 303 (263).

the Arab world-empire by the Arab tribes united by religion and marshalled under the banner of Islam. But he definitely and peremptorily adds that the Arab nomad tribes are incapable of founding an empire except under the guidance of a prophet or a religious leader.*

This observation is in perfect accord with the verdict of history. No sooner was the Caliphate established and the division of the Arab peoples into townsfolk (now rulers) and nomads effected than the latter rapidly reverted to the old freedom and license of the Beduin life and became a disturbing, destroying element in the State.

When Ibn Khaldun goes on further, and says that every land conquered by the Arab wandering tribes was converted, in a very short time, into a desert,† and that they showed the least possible capacity for government among the nations of the world: we must unhesitatingly ascribe this judgment to the recollections, still fresh in our author's mind, of the devastations of the Arab Beduins in North Africa. We are speaking here of the inroad of the Arab hordes from Egypt that took place in the beginning of the 6th century of the Hegira and caused a fearful devastation.‡

6. In the nomad life the State-forming power of the communal spirit (or the Idea of Nationality) retains its vitality. It vanishes in town life, amid increasing culture. The duration of the political community depends, apart from other circumstances, on the vitality of this communal spirit.

* 1, 313 (273).
† 1, 310 (270).
‡ 1, 312 (272). Von Kremer, Gesch. der herrsch. Ideen, p. 404.

After what has already been said on this topic, no further comment is needed here. The rapid overthrow of the small North African dynasties by individual Berber or Arab tribal chiefs and the equally rapid decline and fall of such newly-arisen States offer the best proof thereof.

7. The highest peak of civilization is generally its turning point. Thence begins the step backward—thence commences the decline of the State.

8. States have their definitely allotted time which cannot be exceeded.

9. Weakness in the army and confusion in finance are the two symptoms of the decline and fall.

The economic decline of the Oriental States manifests itself in certain phenomena which Ibn Khaldun takes pains exhaustively to describe. He sets up certain criteria. An oppressive Government assists in the decline of the general prosperity; for as soon as the taxes and imposts become so high that the tax-payer finds no sufficient remuneration for his labour, his incentive for work is gone. The loss of desire for acquisition naturally brings poverty in its train.*

Not infrequently when the State is ripe for fall, the taxes become insufferably oppressive† But this is not all; the prince himself starts some business or other on his own personal account. In other words he sets up a monopoly. This so prejudicially affects the interests of the subjects that the revenue declines; for the wealth

* 2, 98 (81); 106 (93).
† 2, 95 (83).

of the Government always stands in direct relation to the prosperity of its subjects.*

Newly-arisen States generally act with wisdom and moderation ; but with the older ones the very reverse is the case.†

But the richer and more stable the civilization, the longer the rule of one and the same dynasty. Revolutions and changes of Government hinder and thwart steady progress. But once the Empire embarks on its downward course, nothing can stay its fall.‡

We have now before us the historico-philosophical ideas of Ibn Khaldun in their main outline. In the constantly shifting scenes of history he detects the general laws operating upon civic and political life.

To understand these laws ; to explain their interconnexion (for he surveys the political and social life of humanity in its entirety), is, according to Ibn Khaldun, the supremest function of historical science. He fully understood and appreciated many of these laws, as effective to-day as they were in his time. And others, too, notably those obtaining in the economic activities of man, he dimly apprehended. For these reasons, indeed, he has fully established his claim to be recognised as the first critical historian of civilization. He first studies actual facts, then he deduces his laws from them. Rarely does he stray from the path of dispassionate enquiry into the realm of fancy or conjecture

But this empirical method, coupled with the observation of dismal, contemporary events, leads him into a

* II, 300 (355).
† II, 128 (124).
‡ II, 295 (251).

denial of the steady advancement of humanity in the path of progress. He regards the historical process as naught but one determined by laws of rise and fall, as fixed and remorseless as day and night. Life is hemmed in between birth and death ; and this, in his opinion, is as true of nations as of individuals. Ma'arri's philosophy is poetical ; Ibn Khaldun's positive and scientific.

Scarcely here is the great question, whether humanity is moving in a circle or is making headway in an upward march, touched upon, much less solved. We are left to form our own conclusions or to continue in doubt and uncertainty.

True, the idea of progress is treated in a multifarious way, but never with a sure, definite touch. By cultural progress Ibn Khaldun generally understands the progress of man from a lower to a higher level of civilization ; his advancement in spheres material and intellectual, but never his ascending moral elevation ; for he contends that, with advancing civilization, simplicity and purity of morals are lost in luxury and license. Be that as it may, the question still remains, whether, in the present state of our knowledge, we are in a position to estimate the cultural movements, at any given period, in relation to the entire cultural history of man.

In the imperfect condition of our knowledge can there really be a talk of a general cultural history? The answer can only be in the negative. Long and patient researches, in important but hitherto provokingly neglected domains of Eastern history, are necessary to enable us to get a sure insight into the causes of the rise and decline of nations, to form fuller and sounder views than

we have hitherto been able to form on a question of such profound importance.

We shall have to turn more and more to the comparative history of nations; to probe analogous phenomena of national life in the East and the West, and to investigate the causes which lie beneath the seeming uniformity of things.

Indispensable above all things, in this connexion, is the study of the dominant religious and political ideas. To have fully acknowledged and appreciated this need is Ibn Khaldun's great and enduring merit.

We shall not find fault with the negative character of his philosophy: How could we really expect *him* to cherish a belief in the continuing progress of humanity, who lived amid the crash of the crumbling Islamic States, and distinctly saw instability around him glaring him in the face.

Unfortunately his vision never very deeply pierced into the worlds lying beyond Arab culture. Beyond Arab culture his knowledge was but vague and shadowy. And yet he was entirely free from the prejudices and prepossessions of his people; for he specially calls attention to the fact that in the countries of the Franks—so far as he was aware—learning stood in full bloom.*

Nor yet should we forget that he does not question the possibility of progress, but he makes it conditional upon the stability of political conditions.† And with this remark he hits the nail on the head; for it was the lack of political stability which wrecked Eastern culture.

* III, 128 (92).
† II, 295 (251).

Had the Muslims a fixed rule of dynastic succession, culture in the East would have been far more durable, and its civilization far more potent and effective.

The destroying influence of Oriental polygamy Ibn Khaldun does not fully realize.

He, undoubtedly, was one of the greatest thinkers of his time, and as such deserves greater honour than has been his hitherto in the West. Excepting Machiavelli and Vico he is far above the intellectual stature of the medieval European writers.

For long has the East shown her appreciation of him. Under Sultan Mahmud I his *Prolegomena* was translated into Turkish, and since then it has been regarded as the most important handbook of political wisdom—one indeed which no Turkish statesman could do without. But, despite their study, they never made practical use of it; for under the Government of the last Sultan all the symptoms of decay, noted by Ibn Khaldun, showed themselves in clear sunlight at Stambul. But all is vanity, for has not the Qur'an said: They are like one who kindleth a fire, and when it hath thrown its light on all around him, ... God taketh away their light and leaveth them in darkness—they cannot see! Deaf, dumb, blind: they retrace not their steps from error. (Qur'an, II, 16,17.)

THE EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM OF THE MUSLIMS IN THE MIDDLE AGES.

The Educational System of the Muslims fills an important place in their history. We can understand their history only when we consider the moulding influences of those ideas by which, for centuries, Islam held together the most diverse nations of Asia, Africa and Western Europe, with the powerful consciousness that despite all political and other divergences, they still constituted a great brotherhood.

The more clearly we understand the entire tone and bearing of the Muslim school system the easier will it be for us to explain the cohesion of these numerous peoples.

It must, therefore, appear strange that hitherto only a few scholars have applied themselves to the exposition of this side of their cultural history. With commendable industry, indeed, individual aspects have been treated,* but many questions of detail still remain unsolved or uninvestigated, and on the entire organization of the Islamic system of education even Slane† has given only a

* In his 'Die Academien der Araber.' (First Part translated by Khuda Bukhsh in the first number of the 'Muslim Review,' 1926), Wüstenfeld has made known, according to the account of Ibn Schobba, the names of the professors and the Madrassahs which had been in existence, since the XIth century, in the five towns of Baghdad, Nisapur, Damascus, Jerusalem and Cairo. He has appended a lithograph extract from Ibn Schobba. *Cf.* Middeldorpf, *Comment. de institutis literariis in Hispania, quae arabes auctores habuerunt.* Gotting. 1810.

† In the introduction to the second volume of the English translation of Ibn Khallikan, the first edition of which is by Wüstenfeld.

series of sketches. I shall, therefore, reckon myself lucky if, without completing it, I add some feature of enduring worth to the picture already begun by some great masters.

The entire teaching system of the Muslims falls into two groups: the elementary school and the school for higher instruction.

In both we notice a want of that system which, in our schools, governed by a set course of studies, controlled by regulations of all kinds and guarded by severe State supervision, manifests itself from the very outset. Here the State, in the beginning, did not trouble itself at all with schools, and later but very little. Thus the entire system here is built upon purely voluntary efforts, and we must confess that in the Muslim educational system there stands before us a magnificent experiment, revealing freedom of teaching and freedom of studies, carried to the farthest possible point, with all its concomitant advantages and disadvantages.

Interwoven pre-eminently with religion is this zeal for teaching and learning—they knew nothing then of a compulsory school system. The spiritual power which the Qur'an exercised over many nations, led them on, without any extraneous pressure, to a desire to read it for themselves, and this desire by itself spread, indeed, all over the Islamic world.

I. Elementary schools grew quite naturally, without compulsion from above. Not only in the later centuries do we find a school in every small village, or attached to every mosque, but even in the earliest times arrangements to that end were made by the people them-

selves, and not only in Arabia and Iraq,* but even in the provinces.

Thus Abu Muslim, founder of the Abbasid rule, in the first century of the Hegira, attended as a boy a school in Khorasan.† At the end of the second century there was not only a boys' school at Tuster in Persia, but regular attendance was insisted upon without official interference; for a certain Sufi, afterwards famous, was only permitted finally to leave the school earlier than other boys by special arrangement between his kinsmen and the teacher.‡

It is apparent, that boys of six years were admitted into the schools. Wherever the community employed a regularly paid school teacher, the benefit of teaching was extended to the poor; even slaves, at least in some cases, were admitted to the school.§ But along with the boys, at all events in some countries, the girls were allowed to attend school. This is obvious from the Gulistan of Sa'adi.||

By establishing in many and in far distant countries thousands of elementary schools, we must credit Islam with a magnificent influence of a truly philanthropic kind; although the spirit which prompted the establish-

* Hell's Arab Civilization (Eng. Tr. by Khuda Bukhsh), p. 47. Tr.

† Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 382 المكتب (Wüstenfeld's Ed.).

‡ Kushairi. Conscientious parents did not discontinue religious instruction at home. Sultan Salahuddin was seen in the midst of his children with a catechism عقيدة in his hand. Ibn Khall., Nr. 728.

§ Ibn Khall., Nr. 335. At the end of the third century.

|| Book VIIth, p. 147, Ed. Semelet. Girls, like boys, had their ears boxed. In the Arabian Nights a couple has a little love affair in the school. According to the tradition of the Prophet it is the duty of a Muslim woman to acquire religious knowledge. Burhaneddin, p. 8, Ed. Caspari.

ment of these schools was narrow. That in the elementary schools a very narrow spirit obtained is evidenced by the fact that over an indulgent teacher a man so kind and humane as Sa'adi actually gives preference to a veritable *Orbilius plagosus* of gloomy appearance and caustic speech, "at whose sight the life of the Muslims sickens."*

If the punishment which Olearius saw administered in Persia were not out-of-the-way, isolated acts, we must confess that in Mohammedan elementary schools kindness was at a discount.†

The learned discussed whether a man could be trained into something which nature had denied him, or whether education was merely a development of the tendencies born with him. Leading authorities agree with the view which Sa'adi puts into the mouth of a king in his Gulistan :

ناکس بتربیت نشود ای حکیم کس

This view,‡ however, did not prejudicially affect the zeal for teaching. Against all these discouraging circumstances religion sustained the enthusiasm for teaching, and thus counteracted the influences that made for the narrowing of the area of elementary education. It confined itself chiefly to imparting the knowledge necessary to reading the Qur'an and enabling Muslims to fulfil their religious duties according to the direction of that book. They learnt to read it—the more capable ones

* Gulistan, Book VII, p. 147, Ed. Semelet (Bombay edition of the 'Kulliyat-i-Sa'adi, p. 57. Tr.).

† One kind of punishment he has represented on a copper print.

‡ 'By education the unmanly does not become manly.'

learnt individual *suras* by heart, and many learnt the entire text. Early with this study was associated the art of writing, which was responsible for the very name given to the elementary schools.*

The practice in writing, at least in the schools of Mesopotamia, went far beyond immediate needs.

The plastic art, suppressed by Islam, appears to have reasserted itself in the manifold inventions of calligraphy.†

Even the driest and dullest compositions of the Mufti were assessed according to the degree of the calligraphic art expended on it.‡

In Africa and Morocco they never went beyond these poor performances in the elementary schools. There the script remained till recent times very like the original stiff Kufic script, and there, as Ibn Khaldun has pointed out, they retained the earliest standard of Muslim elementary education unchanged. In other countries, notably in Moorish Spain, they added grammar to the curriculum, and used it in explaining old Arab poems

* المكتب The term الكتاب according to Freytag's observation may appear suspicious, but Zamakhshari gives this word as a synonym for مكتب Ed. Wetstein (1850), p. 20, and Kushairi uses this word in the year 438 (1046). Indeed the passage (p. 23) فبعثونى الى الكتاب might be translated: they sent me to the book, but it is immediately followed by فمضيت الى الكتاب وتعلمت القرآن which can only mean: I went to school and learnt the Qur'an. Even Sa'adi takes *Kuttab* in the sense of elementary schools and, though a foreign word, uses it in his Persian text, Gulistan, Book VII.

† Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies : Indian and Islamic*, p. 166, and A. H. Harley's paper on *Ibn Muqlah* in Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London, Vol. III, Part II. Tr.

‡ Ibn Khall., Nr. 604. *Cf.* Nr. 468. Slane's Trans., II, 282.

(Ibn Khaldun, quoted in Slane's Introduction to Ibn Khallikan, Vol. II, p. 12). In Persian countries Arabic grammar held its ground, but, at least from the XIIIth century, the study of the Persian poets was associated with it. Already, in the lifetime of Sa'adi, the students of the upper classes, while discussing Arabic syntax, display great interest in Persian poetry.*

For centuries there Sa'adi and Hafiz were what Cornelius Nepos and Horace are with us.

With the introduction of grammatical studies in the elementary schools the supremacy of the religious influence was considerably restricted. But in the higher studies this influence became all the more powerful.

II. The higher studies originally included only the science of law evolved out of the Qur'an, the Traditions, and the natural inferences drawn from them. This science, even in later times, not only maintained the first place, but more and more thrust other branches of study into the background. One of the leading authorities in the learned world of Islam of the 8th century hesitatingly acknowledged the science of medicine (which keeps the body healthy), along with the science of law, emanating from the Qur'an, which keeps the mind healthy.† The rest was mere pedantry.

These views, however, were crude, and could not stem the tide of culture.‡

* Rosengarten, Book VI, p. 128. It is doubtful whether مقدمة لنحو مخشری is identical with the مقدمة الادب there.

† بلغة المسلس Shafai, in Burhaneddin Serudji, Ed. Caspari, p. 7.

‡ Haji Khalifa's survey of the entire Sciences in Hammer's *Ency. der Wissenschaften des Orients*, 1804, p. 1761.

If it had not so many devotees and workers as law, philology at least enlisted some men of shining talents on her side. And other studies, speculative and mathematical, did not lag behind. But in a large measure they appeared as servants of the religious science of law, which jealously guarded the continuance of its prerogative against the branches of learning of more recent development.*

In later times the dominance of the branches of learning, closely related to theology, over the still later ones, became more and more formal, because these later ones grew more and more independent.

But we should miss an essential feature of the Muslim educational system, were we to ignore its religious aspect.

We should, indeed, be unjust, if we merely credited religion with a restricting influence. The creation and diffusion of an interest in and zeal for learning among Muslims of the Middle Ages—perfect freedom of thought and movement, utmost publicity and intense activity in the domain of teaching—all these were permeated through and through with a religious strain.

From the very beginning, for the use of the higher instruction, Islam lent the mosque.

* The zeal for developing a branch of learning, not essentially theological, generally assumed a theological garb. Thus of the 60,000 dirhams, inherited by Abdullah ibn Mubarak from his father, be spent half over the study of law and the remaining half on that of grammar, but he later said that he wished he had dedicated the entire amount to philology, for the neglect of one single letter of the alphabet has led to Christian heresies, for it is said in the Bible: I have caused Jesus to be born: ولّدت The Christians, however, read it ولدت : I have given him birth. Fleischer, Cod. Bibl. Lipsiens, Nr. XXIII, p. 344.

For Muslims the mosque does not bear the same exclusive character as does a church for Christians. It is not merely a place of worship. The Muslim, indeed, honours the mosque, but he does not hesitate to use it for any laudable purpose.* Thus the indigent traveller there finds a shelter; the sick a hospital. Not infrequently the community used it as a court of justice;† for even the administration of justice was deemed something holy. But next to prayer the holiest thing is learning; for it stands even higher than blind piety.‡ Thus, then, the gates of the mosque were readily opened for learned discussions on questions of law. The immense growth of legal knowledge, however, soon let in subjects such as were, at first sight, remote from religion. Thus, under one and the same roof the pious said their prayers, and the philologist explained a poet.

Hariri, well-known to the West, delivered, in a mosque at Basra, lectures on poems that were far from religious.§

It is very apparent how much the delivery of public lectures—that is higher education—was promoted, not

* As the education of children was regarded everywhere as something sacred we need not wonder that *Boys' Schools* were, and are, very frequently accommodated in mosques.

† The famous professor of Nizamiya, Abu Ishaq Shirazi, often had his meals in the mosque. Nawawi, 647 and specially 648. Strangers stay in the mosque. Ibn Khall., Nr. 699.

‡ One conscientious jurist (Faqih) wields greater power over the Sultan than a thousand pious people. Burhaneddin, Ed. Caspari, p. 5.

§ Libraries were also used as meeting-places for men of culture, where learned discussions and debates took place. Khuda Bukhsh: *Studies: Indian and Islamic*, p. 198; on Libraries, see Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians*, pp. 96-97, 150. 'We are told that the poet Sanaubari used to meet at a book-dealer's house at Edessa a circle of Syrian, Egyptian and Mesopotamian literati.' Mez., *Ren. des Islams*, p. 250. Tr.

only by the establishment of learned institutions, but by the friendly countenance accorded thereto by religion. When it is said of a learned man that he taught in this or that mosque, it is not, of course, to be understood that his lectures were actually delivered under the very roof which sheltered the pious at prayer. In many mosques then and now, there were, and are, different halls and annexes intended to serve this purpose.* But they were always closely connected with the mosque, and thereby the lectures acquired the two-fold character of publicity and accessibility, which demonstrates how favourable was the influence exercised by religion on education in Islam. Between the public and the lecturer there was almost no restriction in the choice of subjects. If, as frequently happened, the lectures were delivered in the mosque itself, the audience formed a compact circle round the lecturer.† No respectable man was excluded; admission, however, was subject to the consent of the lecturer, and this to avoid angry discussion.‡ Precisely the same was it with lectures delivered in the halls attached to the mosque.§ Permission had to be obtained from the lecturer for admission to the hall, but many lecturers seem to have lectured with open doors. That the entrance to the lecture-hall was guarded by the police طراشية is mentioned as something exceptional in the

* In the upper storey, the غرفة of a mosque, a poor poet had his room. Nr. 307. Ibn Khall.

† حلقة Kazwini, *Cosmography*, II, pp. 252-277. Ibn Khall., Nr. 423. This word is particularly applied to the audience. Nawawi. 122. Also, 703.

‡ At his lectures Mohamed Ibn Yahya forbade admission to those who held the opinion of his opponent Bukhari. Ibn Khall., Nr. 727.

§ Hatimi receives permission to enter the lecture-hall of Mutanabbi. Ibn Khall., Nr. 660. [Eng. Trans., Vol. I, p. 102. Tr.]

fourteenth century, and this fact shows how easy it was, as a rule, to obtain admission.*

The custom of the teachers to listen to criticisms and to hold discussions on the subject lectured upon compelled them to prepare their lectures with the utmost care, so as to create a favourable impression.† Cases occurred of immature teachers resigning their lectureships at the sight of a *savant* in the mosque, and devoting themselves to a more thorough study of their subjects.‡ Even the silent presence of a learned man must have been inspiring. We may therefore conclude that, despite its limitations, the religious influence worked very much for good by keeping the teaching in and by the mosque in close touch with the general public. The constant contact with all and everyone interested in learning must, in any circumstance, have been stimulating, but Islam added a special feature of its own—the feature of many-sidedness—and this, in my view, is unique in history. Among Muslims a life of travel prevailed which constantly brought foreign visitors to every important mosque.§ Even if religion had not given an impetus to this passion for travel, the love of knowledge would have drawn the wanderer to the mosque as a place having a peculiar position as a seat of learning. But, more! religion had a direct share

* Maqrizi saw this arrangement at the Nasariah founded in the XIVth century at Cairo. Hamaker, *Specimen Catalogi.* 64.

† Even a preacher could be interrupted. Ibn Khall, Nr. 378. Objections of other kinds, Nr. 372. Interruptions in the midst of the discourse, Nr. 640.

‡ While Anbari dictated to his pupils, Darqutni remained without interrupting him. Ibn Khall., Nr. 653.

§ See Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies : Indian and Islamic*, p. 159, *et sqq.* particularly pp. 164-65. Arab Travellers by Arnold in '*Travel and Travellers of the Middle Ages.*' (Kegan Paul.)

in this. The obligation to make the pilgrimage brought to Mekka from the remotest countries many lovers of learning, and not infrequently highly-cultured men. Hailing from the remote East they would visit the schools of Baghdad, and, having come so far, they would hardly deny themselves the privilege of listening to the professors at Damascus, and often enough to those in Egypt. And somewhat similar was the case with those that came from the far West—Africa and the Magrib.

To this religious impulse were added, in special cases, reasons connected with the subject in which the traveller was specially interested. Thus particularly was it with the study of Traditions The sayings and reports of the actions of the Prophet that were looked upon as the measure of religious duties, grew incessantly in volume. International fabrications contributed thereto; as, for instance, when a Jew put an entire collection of invented traditions into circulation.* People felt compelled to call individual collectors liars, Shaskuni for instance,† and to hold as impostors some who pretended to have travelled far and wide.‡

This induced men who were at once pious and conscientious to undertake most troublesome journeys to all the parts of the world where they could hope to find Traditions. The self-sacrifices of our boldest naturalists alone give an idea of the all-conquering zeal of these old collectors. The zeal for collecting Traditions sent the

* Dhahabi, III, 21. *Cf.* Nawawi, 135. See Goldziher's MS., where this subject has been luminously dealt with.

† Dhahabi ol. VIII. Nr. 81, p. 22.

‡ Abu Abdullah, Dhahabi, Vol. III, Nr. 29, p. 7. (See, Mez., *Ren. des Islams*, Chapter XIII. *See English* translation in *Islamic Culture*, Vol. IV (1930). S. K. B.)

famous Bukhari out of his home in modern Turkistan, not only to Baghdad, the greatest centre of learning in his day, but into the heart of Arabia, and on again to Egypt and Syria. Although he rejected thousands of Traditions heard by him, he yet put together, after sixteen years of travel, 60,000 Traditions.* One Abul Kasim heard 1,300 Traditions, and in his travels even took the trouble of eliciting Traditions from more than eighty women.† The biographical works of Ibn Khallikan, Nawawi, and Dhahabi are rich in such instances, and this brings home to us the sacrificing enthusiasm of Muslims for travel for religious enquiry and religious researches.

The zeal for travelling for philological researches was also primarily connected with religious purposes. The Qur'an had made the language of Central Arabia the standard language of the Arabs. It was for this reason that the oldest philologists did their utmost to come as much as possible into contact even with the Beduins, to learn their popular songs, to listen to the subtleties of their speech, and to acquaint themselves with their idioms in all their shades and niceties. Even from India came such lovers of learning. The desire of many to live with the children of the desert was so overpowering, that even the attacks of the Beduins, who plundered caravans and killed travellers or took them prisoners, were regarded in the light of good fortune. The philologer Azhari, in one of his travels, was captured by Beduins, and rejoiced over it.‡ Even later these jour-

* Nawawi gives an exhaustive biography of Bukhari, pp. 76 *et sqq.* *Cf.* Krehl., Z.D.M.G. (1850), p. 5.

† Dhahabi, III, 48.

‡ Ibn Khall., Nr. 650.

neys for philological purposes retained touch with religion, for naught but the supremacy of the Qur'an could make Central Arabia the goal of such travels. True, the study of Beduin literature and its imitations became later independent of the Qur'an. But these linguistic researches introduced into the life and activities of Muslim teachers and students that passion for travel that is so outstanding a feature of the educational system of Islam. At the age of about fifteen the youth who had acquired elementary knowledge in his native town, usually set out for the next great town to hear the lectures there, and, in many instances, was not satisfied until he had compared the schools of the East with those of the West. Often, indeed, elderly men and men of culture took to travels for increasing their knowledge;* even such as had themselves taught were attracted to distant countries by the fame of famous teachers. As the language in which all lectures were delivered was Arabic, every newcomer, even those from the remotest corner of the Islamic Empire, could understand and be understood in a mosque. This constant wandering for learning or for curiosity or in search of truth or for mere fashion—whatever the driving motive—introduced much many-sidedness into the entire educational system of Islam. No literary journals were needed then to circulate new ideas. Travellers carried with them to distant countries good and evil reports of the lectures as also of the views propounded.

* Indeed it is to be remembered that even men who had acquired fame attended public lectures. Al-Ashari hears Marwazi. Ibn Khall., Nr. 440, Fasc. 14. *Cf.* Nr. 388, 406. A private teacher also hears lectures. Fleischer, *Codic, Dipsiens*, p. 338.

Thus with wonderful rapidity and uniformity spread the broad and enlightened views on numerous theological and psychological questions that had come into vogue at Baghdad in the IXth century as the result of the study of Greek philosophy Kushairi reports how, in Eastern Khorasan, the first messenger of these new views was greeted, and how Mekka heard from a wandering *savant*, who had been there before, but had abandoned the crude, anthropomorphic ideas locally obtaining, that in Baghdad a new light of religious science had dawned.*

We must confess that the immediate effect of this manifold contact of widely-travelled scholars was a love for discussion that frequently degenerated into insensate talk.† The desire to shine in dialectical contests must have been particularly fostered and heightened by the frequent presence of powerful patrons of learning‡ at public disputations. Even on such occasions instances of unseemly encounters were not wanting, but worse still was it when disputants met in private and sought to carry a point for the mere sake of carrying it apart from any question of its soundness or otherwise.

One of the delights of these learned disputations consisted in hurting, with clever witticisms, the feelings of one's opponents,§ but sometimes the respective

* Kushairi, Cod. or. mon. 55 f. 8 b and 7 b. The expression is: اسلمت اسلاما جديد , I have accepted a new Islam.

† They invited in a mosque those that were present to suggest a favourite topic from a favourite branch of learning for discussion. Kazwini, *Cosmogr.*, II, p. 252.

‡ Ibn Khall., Nr. 599, and Nr. 617.

§ Ibn Khall. gives a fine example, No. 20.

followers of the disputants resorted to actual acts of violence.

The Hambalites, the disciples of the founder of the fourth orthodox school, who, more and more, from decade to decade, until the XIth century of the Hegira, outdid their master* in fanatical stubbornness repeatedly caused bloodshed at Baghdad and elsewhere. These acts of violence of the opposing schools drew the masses with disastrous consequences into discussions on matters relating to the higher studies; for the masses are hardly capable of quietly acting according to definite principles.†

Those Caliphs of the House of Abbas who, in the eighth century, tried to give to the current fatalistic and superstitious ideas a more rational turn, realized most strongly how sad was the position of things,‡ and had at last, to give up their efforts in that direction.

These are the dark spots on the freedom and publicity that obtained in the higher educational system of Islam.

But we should not forget that the three first leaders of thought—Abu Hanifa, Malik, and Shafa'i—set a most brilliant example of reasonableness and the spirit of compromise, notwithstanding considerable differences in

* Abulfeda, *Annal*, Ed. Reiske, II, 359, 391.

† The crowd which the lectures of distinguished men drew also redounded to the disadvantage of those lectures. When Mohamed ibn al Hassan lectured according to Malik, there was a large crowd, but, when he lectured according to another, the attendance was thin. Nawawi, 104.

‡ These Abbasid Caliphs tried to force their own views upon the populace; but, by their own conduct, set an example of sordid pleasure-seeking, with the result that they created a consciousness of martyrdom and the realization of a higher sense of morality among their opponents.

their opinions and methods of teaching.* Shafa'i and Malik stood on very friendly terms with one another, and their meeting in Egypt became the model of the later peaceful co-operation of the two schools in Cairo.

But there always existed an appreciable rivalry between the schools. Those of Malik and Shafa'i considered themselves more orthodox than the school of Abu Hanifa, called rationalistic by their opponents.†

It was reckoned a triumph with every sect to win over to its fold some distinguished man belonging to another,‡ but they respected conviction and regarded it as disreputable to join another sect for mere worldly gain.§ The many treatises on controversy|| prove the attempt of each of the schools to gain adherents by advancing arguments in proof of the soundness of their respective views, and, however worthless this branch of learning may be, it indicates at least the dialectical activity which the divergences of views, obtaining in different schools, awakened and accentuated. They felt the necessity of being ever ready with arguments at a moment's notice, for defeat was synonymous with indelible shame.

* Ibn Khall., Nr. 560, 569, 578; Nawawi, in his biography of Shafa'i, gives details, p. 56.

† مذهب اهل الرأى Ibn Khall., 2. Also اهل القياس . Under Alp Arslan (1064=A.H. 456) Asharites were cursed in Khorasan. Men like Kushairi fled from this sort of barbarism.

‡ *Cf.* Ibn Khall., Nr. 612 (Nur-al-Din, Nr. 526, Malik al-adil).

§ The founder of the Nizamiyah at Baghdad had ruled that the chair of philosophy in that institution should be held by a Shafite. On a vacancy occurring a learned man immediately became a Shafa'i, says Ibn Khallikan. Nr. 565, Fasc. vi, p. 80.

|| خلاف Ibn Khall., Nr. 616 and 614, where جسيت is mentioned as a branch of polemics of apologetics. At the Nizamiyah at Baghdad there was a special chair for this branch of learning.

Whether publicity in all these things had, on the whole, a favourable influence, must remain just as doubtful a question as another connected therewith; namely, the preference shown to the cultivation of memory and the practice of learning things by heart. This preference is not to be explained away by the fact of the scarcity of books, for, had that been the case, it would have declined in the later days of Islam. There was never a lack of books.

Even in the first century of the Hegira we find learned men scolded by their wives for possessing great numbers of books,* and one was actually killed by the fall of a pile of folios that he had heaped around him while sitting on the floor.† It was deemed a matter of pride to possess a large collection of books, and not merely *savants* but even statesmen gloried in their collections. A Buwayiid Wazir never travelled without carrying with him thirty camel-loads of books.‡ Numerous copyists (among them men of philological training) multiplied copies; often, indeed, arranging and improving the texts;§ while the astonishing fertility of countless authors swelled the list of new works.

The public libraries attached to the mosques and schools owed their existence to legacies and endowments.||

* Abulfeda, *Annal*, 1,454. See Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians*, pp. 47-48. Tr.

† Jahiz, Abulfeda, II, 230.

‡ Ibn Khall., Nr. 451.

§ As such Ibn Khallikan mentions Nrs. 408, 451, 453, 464, 468. The great geographer Yaqut was one of them. See Khuda Bukhsh, *Studies; Indian and Islamic*, p. 168 (Tr.).

|| In the Journal Asiatique, 3rd series, Vol. VI, Quatremère has given information on more than forty libraries. In the Febr. number (1848) of the same journal Von Hammer has made very considerable additions. (Hajjaj made copies of the Qur'an and distributed them among Muslim

Many of these became famous on account of their great number of their books, and some by the correctness of their MSS. There was never a scarcity of books in Muslim countries; nevertheless, people relied upon their memory, if they hoped to take part with credit and distinction in public and free discussion in the schools. Says Zamakhshari: the glory of the learned man is in his note-book; that of the merchant is in his cash-book; but the saying that found still greater favour and acceptance was 'the glory of the learned man is in what he knows by heart.' It was not rare for a learned man, who in his younger years had committed the Qur'an to memory, to recite without a fault a large number of classical poems, even entire systems of jurisprudence (Ibn Khall., Nrs. 321, 325 and 608), and thousands of Traditions with the pedigrees of their narrators. Merwazi could boast of having 70,000 Traditions as though in a sack, and Bukhari so splendidly passed through the searching test imposed upon him by his distrusting opponents, that he won and maintained the fame of a vast and amazingly accurate memory. (Abulfeda, II, 236).

generals. Weil, I, 562. Ibn Hajib An-Noman possessed a splendid library. Z. D. M. G., Vol. XIII, p. 592. Abul Hasan Az-Ziyadi al-Hasan bin Uthman is said to have possessed a large library. He died 243 A.H. (857-858). *Ibid*, p. 586. Khalil-i-Baghdadi (Ibn Khall. Vol. I, pp. 38, 65). 'He made a waqf of all his books in favour of Muslims.' The library of Al-Waqidi (ninth century) required 120 camels, with 600 chests, to carry it from Baghdad to beyond the Tigris. Purgstall I, Intro., p. lxvi. Fetch Ben Khaqan, the Wazir of Mutawakkil, established a magnificent library and the Wazir of Wathiq was in the habit of spending 10,000 rupees every month on the translation and copying of books. For further information see Khuda Buksh's *Studies*, pp. 197-198. Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians*, pp. 96-97. Tr.

Such cultivation of the memory was one of the conspicuous results of the publicity—I might say the freedom—of the Muslim educational system. In intimate connexion with the public character of the teaching stood its freedom, in the sense that every Muslim of distinction was able without any difficulty to step forward as a teacher, if only he had sufficient confidence in his own powers. Up to the establishment of the Madrassahs in the XIth century, only in those branches of study that were connected with law, as sanctioned by religion, was anything like an association with an older teacher required, to establish a sort of professorial apostleship traceable right back to the Prophet. There was no such thing as a state examination or a state appointment of any sort or kind. Even slaves appeared as teachers. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 432.)

With such subjects as were remote from religion no connexion with earlier authorities was required. Thus, in his sixteenth year (about 996 A.D.), Ibn Sina appeared as a teacher of medicine; a science for which he felt himself qualified after having diligently studied all the books available in Kharmaitan, and after he had practised for some little time.* On the other hand a restriction was imposed on the freedom of teaching by the rule that no one might use at a public lecture the book of another, without his written permission. After the death of the author, permission had to be obtained from his heirs. Thus a learned man of the XIIIth century secured written authority to use the Sahih of Bukhari,

* Vita Avicennæ Ex Sorsano (*i.e.*, Abu Ubaid Abdal-Wahid el-Jurjani in Avicennæ Canon. I. Venet 1595 and Ibn Khall. Nr. 189, Fasc. II, p. 181.

composed three hundred years earlier.* Even the sons of an author could not grant such permission without express authority from him. Some disciple or other might be given the preference over the author's own children.† Even women could give private licenses to teachers.‡ The rule that obtained regarding the use of books extended also to lectures. They, too, could only be used with the express permission of the lecturer.§ Such a license served a two-fold purpose. It was at once an acknowledgment of the rights of the author and a certificate of competence of the licensee. I presume our licentiate has its origin in this Muslim practice. Many teachers were very cautious in regard to the granting and continuation of this license. Zamakhsari, for instance. Others were very liberal.‖ It is reported of one who was free with his licenses, that he covered the earth with certificates obtained from his audience and with licenses granted to others.¶ Many teachers put a note in the book they lectured upon, to the effect that they had used it in their lectures. (Ibn Khall., No. 448.) The license was a general certificate in the

* Ibn Khall., Nr. 414. Slane II, 171.

† Thus the sons of Hariri as regards Maqamah. Ibn Khall., Nr. 546, Fasc. vi.

‡ For instance, Zainab. Ibn Khall., Nr. 250.

§ Even to recite the verses of a poet permission had to be obtained اجازة Nr. 396. *Cf.* Nr. 616. اجازه *Cf.* Hamakar, Specimen Cat., p. 128. With his explanation of اجازة we cannot quite agree.

‖ A private teacher in Cairo asks for a written license in vain. Ibn Khall. Nr. 721.

¶ سماعات merely indicates that one has heard a lecture, not that he has been given permission to transmit what he had heard.

true sense of the term, and contained the signature and the date of issue.*

If it was competent to a teacher to pass on his own authority to teach to another; so was it open to him to appoint a deputy or a representative to carry on his work. Professors who were advanced in years, or had another occupation as official work, had frequently such assistants to help them in their work.†

With the establishment of proper high schools or Madrassahs with fixed incomes, the founders or their families acquired the right of appointment and removal of professors; but even then, in the method of teaching and in the choice of subjects, the teacher enjoyed perfect freedom.

The State interfered only in a case where religion was in danger.‡

A fair degree of variety and many-sidedness was thus introduced into the educational system of Islam, the freedom obtaining being no mere caprice.

* The last of the biographies in Ibn Khallikan contains one such instance.

† Ibn Khallikan, Nr. 306. Nawawi, 734. Masud of Nisapur acted for Jawaini at the Nizamiyah at Baghdad. Ibn Khall., Nr. 728. Even in the case of an ordinary schoolmaster, Olarius speaks of an assistant. In every school, says he, there is only one principal Mulla or teacher and a Khalifa who is his collaborator and substitute. Pers. Reisebeschr. 612.

‡ They could complain against a teacher before any *divan* for an offence against religion. In important cases the Caliph reserved the jurisdiction for himself. Thus the famous Dhun-Nun had to travel from Egypt to Baghdad to answer to a charge before the Caliph Mutawakkil, Kushairi *Cod. Mon* 55 f. 13 b. *Cf.* Kazwini, II, 94. And he did so amidst a large concourse of people right down to water-carriers. Kushairi, f. 162. Compare other instances of interference on the part of the Caliphs. Abulfeda, II, 187. Dhahabi cl. viii, Nr. 108. Even where no formal enquiry was made, public opinion was of great importance. Such was the case with the historian Tabari.

The main features of that system may be thus summarised. There was no fixed rule as to the interval dividing one lecture from another. This depended entirely upon the inclination of the lecturer. Some lectured every day: (Al-Harrani, Exegesis of the Qur'an. Ibn Khall., Nr. 668) others, once a week, particularly on a Monday (Ibn Khall., Nr. 413). Anbari delivered his philological lectures every Friday.* Al-Barawi delivered more than one lecture a day.† Wherever the lecture was delivered —in or by the mosque—it was stopped at prayer-time.‡ Regular vacations, at fixed times of the year, were not in vogue. The commencement of the vacation depended entirely upon the conclusion of the course of lectures. Here the lecturer had the greatest possible freedom. The lecturer usually followed the text-book written by himself or by some other authority.

Experienced professors knew their text-book by heart, so that they were in no way embarrassed if, on their appearance in the lecture-hall, they found that they had forgotten to bring the book along with them.§ When dictated (a frequent occurrence) the lecture was delivered slowly, to enable the students to take it down correctly. In Siluki's lecture-hall at Nisapur there were 500 ink-pots always ready for use.|| Many a time a student who had not taken down the lecture was censured, but Al-Isfaraini was perfectly satisfied with Kushairi for committing the entire lecture to memory

* Ibn Khall., 653 مجلس الاملاء

† Ibn Khall., Nr. 603. About 1170.

‡ *Ibid*, Nr. 560, Fasc. vi., p. 70.

§ Ibn Khall., Nr. 608.

|| محبرة Ibn Khall., Nr. 273. Dictating is ملو Abulfeda, II, 349.

without taking it down in writing. The lecturer was not merely content with delivering his lecture; he tried to satisfy himself that the students had followed and understood him. For this purpose he would discuss the subject with them, put questions to them and encourage them to put questions to him. He who sat next to the lecturer was the first to get into conversation with him.*
Sometimes the lecturer asked one of the students to sit nearer to him, to enable him more easily to enter into conversation with him.

Many teachers, while discussing the subject, left their seat and mixed with the students By his example Al-Zuhri, one of the oldest teachers of Islam, showed how much teaching could be done by mere conversation and discussion.†

In a gathering he never placed himself behind but always in front of the people.‡ He never let a boy in the assembly go unquestioned nor an old or a young man either. He would not only do this in the mosque, but even call on people at their homes for that purpose.§

Later, this importunity was moderated;‖ but none the less, it continued to remain a special feature of en-

* سدة Ibn Khall., Nr. 600, Fasc. vi. 116. This word is translated by Slane (Vol. II, 626) as 'Sofa.' When the lecture was delivered in a mosque the pulpit (المنبر) was used by the lecturer.

† He died A.H. 122=741 A.D. Abulfeda, I. 454. *Cf.* Ibn Khall., Nr. 269.

‡ كان ياتي المجالس من صدورها و لا ياتيها من خلفها

§ Nawawi, p. 117. He went to the house of this or that Ansar and even questioned old women there; (for the life of Nawawi see Wüstenfeld's 'Life and Writings of Nawawi,' a masterpiece of its kind. Göttingen. 1849. Tr.).

‖ It became an عادة التعليم According to this Riza was examined on the syntax. Ibn Khall., Nr. 678, Fasc. vii, p. 85.

thusiastic teachers. Study in the High Schools was thus not merely a hearing of lectures but a thorough drilling in the subject.*

After the Xth century an old professor usually had a special *Repetitor* of his own.† Not infrequently such a one was chosen from among the students, and his work was regarded at once in the light of a distinction and as a further grounding in the subject.‡

The instruction continued beyond the lecture-room, for the audience sought personal contact with the teacher. That it depended upon the teacher himself to impose a restriction upon this personal contact may well be imagined; but he could not very well have refused the request of an eager student, in the first flush of enthusiasm, for the solution of his doubts and difficulties.§

As the teacher not infrequently lectured to beginners at the same time as he gave advanced courses for the benefit of those who wanted to enter the State service, and also delivered public lectures meant for a larger audience, we can easily imagine that the questions addressed to him were many and various.‖ While to the young the

* They used to say 'he heard,' for instance, Law from N. N. سمع من Ibn Khall., Nr. 400. But the real training in Law was secured by exercises. It is expressed by تفقه على Ibn Khall., Nr. 5,395; 403.

† The *Repetitor* was an assistant who helped the students in getting up their subjects.

‡ Repetitor معيد Ibn Khall., Nr. 606. اعادله Nr. 490, 422, 442, Nr. 852, Fasc. xi.

§ A troublesome questioner of this sort later received the appellation of قطرب . Abulfeda II 140. Ibn Khall. Nr. 646. Close contact with the teacher is صحب Eg. Ibn. Khall. Nr. 18. Thus the اصحاب of a teacher. Nr. 19.

‖ Ibn Khall., Nr. 395. Nr. 603. (On 'Katib' see Prof. Margoliouth's *Arab Historians*, pp. 51, 52, 96, 97, 150. Tr.).

simplest things had to be explained a great number of times; the often widely-travelled old listener wanted to hear something useful* or sought to have an ingeniously-raised doubt set at rest. All this meant a great deal of work to the teacher. Going back, indeed, to the beginning of Islam, we find the teacher more and more worried in this respect. The trouble was all the greater, as the branches of learning were very little marked off one from another. We see Abu-z-zinad† going out of the mosque in Medina, surrounded by his pupils, like a Sultan by his escort: one questioning him about a religious precept, another about arithmetic, a third about the meaning of a poem, and yet another about a Tradition of the Prophet or about some difficult case. Although by the separation of the different branches of learning, the burden was lightened and the professors were, to a certain extent, protected by their position from the crowd, yet the duty 'to occupy with the people' constituted the most difficult side of the educational system of Islam.‡

The fact that the teacher was not tied down to a rigid syllabus very appreciably affected his income. Up to the XIth century it was left to the teacher to earn his living as best he could. He who gave himself up to

* فايدة means something really useful—profit, gain. Among other things they understood by it an original idea which might be useful even to those who already possessed sufficient knowledge of a certain subject. Ibn Shohbah., Nr. 41.

† Dhahabi, 1, 25. He died A.H. 131. No wonder that another teacher, according to the same writer, Dhahabi (1, 40) actually ran away and bolted the door against his pupils who uselessly worried him.

‡ يشتغل الناس يشغل. The first word evidently refers to the teacher and the second to his students. Ibn Shohbah, Nr. 45, 47, 49, 51. Ibn Khall., Nr. 408.

learning had therefore to be either well-off or well-patronized or to carry on a trade or to act as a judge or mufti or in some such capacity.* The latter course was very often adopted by those that taught the more practical side of Law.† For fifteen years Shafa'i practised Law along with a‡ theoretical study of jurisprudence. Many teachers, like the famous Imam-al-Haramain, held several offices at the same time.§ These posts sometimes were very lucrative. A Qadhi of Aleppo drew, for instance, 100,000 dirhams;‖ but a conscientious teacher could not find this arrangement very satisfactory. Conscientious men like Abu Yusuf, under Harun-ul-Rashid, or the Qadhi of Kairwan, whose curses on poverty Ibn Khallikan records, did not worry about these posts. The more conscientious ones actually refused these appointments, and Abu Hanifa would rather endure ill-treatment or die in prison than accept the very lucrative and honourable position of the chief judgeship of Baghdad.¶

Worst off were the philologists, for of these only a few could hope to secure an appointment under the Government. There is but one famous exception to this rule and that is Abu Tamam, the collector of Hamasa, who became the governor of Mosul. Who-

* Ibn Khall., Nr. 402, Nr. 445.

† Ibn Khall. 3. يدرس و يفتي He was professor and Mufti. *Cf.* Ibn Shohbah, Nr. 47 and 49.

‡ Nawawi, 64.

§ Ibn Khall., Nr. 388. Many were preachers and professors at the same time. Ibn Shohbah, Nr. 46.

‖ Wüstenfeld, *Akad. d. Araber*, p. 24.

¶ Another learned man resigns the post of a Qadhi after a single day's service. Ibn Khall., Nr. 455.

ever, therefore, gave himself up to the study of language and literature and was not content with the poor pittance of a schoolmaster or a private teacher, had to look to some other means of livelihood as well. But as a means of living, poetry and particularly lyrical panegyrics, offered the surest prospect. There were, in fact, few Muslim princes who had not stirred some poet's enthusiasm or were not the object of a poet's devotion. Up to the tenth century the Caliphs were surrounded by poetical philologists. Thenceforth these made their way to the courts of those rulers who wrenched away the power of the declining Caliphate.

In a moment of generous humour one couplet might bring in a landed estate.* The glorified ruler sometimes even paid the debts of his poet; but often the literati had to be satisfied with trivial presents, and tramp from one town to another to celebrate in poems all the great ones they could get hold of.† No professor who was not also a Qadhi (a lucrative post) was free from their attachès. In such cases it was difficult to decide who was worse off—the one who sang the praises or the one whose praises were sung. Happier, no doubt, was the lot of the poetical philologist, when he met a princely patron who found pleasure in his intellectual companionship. But such a one had to know or improvise a poem suited to every incident that occurred. And as his presence was necessary at hunting parties, it was naturally useful that he should know something about falcons and dogs. To

* Ibn Khall., Nr. 549. A still richer reward, Nr. 684.

† The poetical philologist languished in the ante-room of the great. Often they quarrelled with the *valet de chambre*. Ibn Khall., Nr. 675, Nr. 351, Fasc. iv, 89; Fasc. vii, 80.

many it proved also very beneficial to possess some knowledge of household medicine, and to combine acquaintance with astronomy with the art of preparing *sherbat.** Not infrequently the life of such philologists was the life of wretched parasites. However, it brought into being the so-called ' Science of amusing princes,'† and numerous selections from poets and story-tellers. One and the same person appeared now as a teacher of philology, now as a panegyrist or as a companion of some powerful magnate.‡

Honourable, indeed, was the position of those philologists who were entrusted with the education of princes. And such was often the case at the court of the Abbasids in the East and of the Omayyads in Spain.§ There was yet another source from which teachers and learned men could derive some support. The Wazirs generally had a fund at their disposal from which they could give financial aid to such men. But this involved humiliation and the amount allowed was very often most exiguous. The famous Tirmidhi only got four dirhams per month.‖

The madrassahs or the academies that after the XIth century were established¶ in various towns appear to have adopted this small subsistence allowance of

* An instance in Ibn Khall., Nr. 451.

† Encyklopadische Übersicht der Wissenschaften des Orients, p. 68. مسامرة الملوك p. 256; *Cf.* Hammer's Intro. to Flügel's translation of Al-Salabi's anthology.

‡ Such was the case even with Mutannabbi.

§ Ibn Khall. 517.

‖ *Ibid*, Nr. 583. Also see Nr. 448.

¶ The current idea that the first Madrassah was founded by Nizam-ul-mulk at Baghdad (459 A.H.=1066 A.D.) is corrected by Slane in the introduction to his Eng. tr. of Ibn Khall. He tells us there that already in

the earlier days as the standard of the teacher's salary.* The salary allowed was very small. This fact undoubtedly explains the reason why many teachers gave up their appointment at a madrassah shortly after they had joined. Those that continued had an income from some post or other elsewhere.

Just as the academies brought forth no changes in the manner of the delivery of lectures or in the general trend of the educational system, so in the matter of the pay of the teachers,† at least during the first centuries of their existence, no financial improvement was effected.

At all events their existence did not in any way improve the prospects of the philologists, for only the larger madrassahs like the Nizamiyah of Baghdad seem to have had a chair for philology, and the occupant of that chair, about 1100 A.D., could not have been very happy, for he alludes to his position in the words of an earlier grammarian :—

"Grammar and he who is occupied with it, are worth less than even a morsel steeped in oil."‡

Only one kind of teachers could count everywhere upon a sure income, namely, those who took in young people as boarders and were put completely in charge of their education. What Lane says in this respect of the Egyptian teachers up to the time of the French invasion,

418=1027, that is to say, ten years before Ibn Sina's death, such an institution was established at Nisapur.

* Ibn Shohbah, Nr. 49.

† ر طايف " On the pay of the professors later. Hammer's Gesh. das Osmanischen Reichs, II, Part I.

‡ Ibn Khall., Nr. 464. We have already referred to the injunction of the founder of the Nizamiyah that the professor of philology there should always be a Shafa'i. Nr. 565, p. 80, F. vi.

is true in the main of the Middle Ages.* The peasant who made over his son to a teacher, to train him for a government appointment, provided the teacher with food. The pupil personally served the teacher, went out with him, took care of his sandals when he was bathing, fetched necessaries for him from the market,† and even cooked his food. With but a few of such pupils it was possible for the teacher to eke out a livelihood. Sometimes the teacher gave his daughter in marriage to the best of them. (Ibn Khall., Nr. 374 and Nr. 321. Kushairi got for wife the daughter of his teacher.)

In the old days there was very little provision made for the students. It was left to their families to defray their expenses. Men, therefore, who dedicated themselves to study, were generally well-to-do men. Whether from the very beginning of the establishment of the madrassahs residential arrangements for students were made I am not prepared to say, but such, undoubtedly, was the case after the XIIIth century.‡ Generous provision for the support and maintenance of the students seems to have gone hand in hand with an increase in the

* (In Chadwick's *Social Life in the Days of Piers Plowman*, pp. 23, 24, 62, 87, the reader will find interesting points of comparison and contrast. From this point of view Charles Bigg's chapter on Education in his *Church's Task under the Roman Empire* is of considerable interest. Tr.)

† Abdullah ibn Bari sent a student of his to fetch some vegetables—root and all. A well-behaved student was treated like a son of the family. A certain teacher is reported to have nursed his sick pupil, sold even his donkey to meet the expenses of his illness and carried the convalescent on his back.

‡ Kazwini, in his *Cosmogr.* (p. 259, Vol. II), states : Ibn Sahlan transcribed books for Ibn Sina, as he was too poor to meet the expenses of his study, and as there were no madrassahs then.

pay of the teachers. The rulers of Mongolian and Turkish descent were not only particularly lavish with gifts to mosques and educational institutions connected with them, but also founded a number of new institutions of the kind. Even from their graves they stretched out, so to speak, a helping hand to the votaries of learning; for the numerous endowments for Qur'an readers at the graves of Sultans and Wazirs redounded to the benefit of young teachers and advanced students.*

The students often resided in large numbers in hostels which may be likened to the colleges of the English Universities. Thus the madrassahs were not unlike great beehives which received the honey of wisdom from a thousand blossoms of knowledge. But the bees were pre-eminently drones. The educational system perished by its own prosperity.

It would be no harsh judgment were I to say that from the fifteenth century the activities of the Muslim schools slackened, the extended intercourse ceased. This fact the Mohammedan world has itself realized, and in its grim humour has described the students, the foster children of the hostels, as *Sukhta* or *Sufta*, *i.e.*, the burnt ones; whereas those of the earlier age they called *Talaba*, the seekers, the aspirants.

In my account of Islamic education I have confined myself to the Middle Ages. But it is not unknown to me that in the mosques and colleges of the Turkish Empire even in later times many beneficent forces were actively at work. Let us only recall the educational history of Haji Khalifa and remember how a lecture in a

* Nur-ud-din, in his lifetime, gave alms and stipends to readers of the Qur'an along with jurists and Sufis. Ibn Khall., Nr. 725.

mosque awakened in him, a young officer, the desire to master knowledge in its entirety, and how in the pursuit of that object he went from town to town, from teacher to teacher, and how, again, he was not ashamed, though a man of position, to become the patient student of learned men until he attained the highest position in Turkish literature.* And this happened only two hundred years ago. Yet it was naught but a mere after-glow. Within, the decay manifests itself in the artificiality of imitation; in the luxuriant growth of anthologies, commentaries upon commentaries, etc. And without, in a rigid demarcation of status, behind which the man is nothing, the status everything.

Even the earlier times were not indifferent to marks of honour. People greeted the teacher, went about with him, held his stirrup when he got on his mule.† Personal esteem particularly showed itself in the last-mentioned service. While the corpse of the teacher was washed by favourite pupils, the entire town took part in the funeral.‡ When the famous Imam-ul-Haramain died in 478 (summer 1085) at Nisapur, it was not enough for the poets to sing his praises, but even the merchants closed their shops in the bazar. Moreover the pulpit in the mosque was broken down and his pupils smashed their pens and inkpots.§

* Hammer, *Encyklopadische Uebersicht der Wisseischaften des Orients*, p. 3, *et. sq.*

† Ibn Khall., Nr. 411, Nr. 582.

‡ Thus with Malik, Ibn Khall., Nr. 576.

§ If I understand it correctly the students had a year's holiday in honour of the dead. Ibn Khall., Nr. 388, Fasc. iv, p. 85, Cr. Wüstenfeld, *Acad. der Araber*, p. 31.

Such recognition of merit was a common feature. Very early, indeed, the guild of *savants* and teachers was distinguished by a professional costume of its own.* The invention of this official costume is ascribed to keen-sighted Abu Yusuf, the illustrious casuist already referred to, a man belonging to the court of Harun.†

As all professions were distinguished by characteristic marks of their own, *e.g.*, that of the soldier, that of the sufi—it was very natural that the guild of the *savants* too should have a uniform of its own; in fact the various faculties were differentiated from each other by their own special uniforms.‡ In the main the distinguishing features of a *savant's* dress were wide sleeves, long tails, and artistically arranged pleats.§ But, later, all this became more and more an empty show and merely provoked offensive witticisms from the populace.‖

All the ostentation of the Turkish *Ulemas* at Turkish festivities, their magnificent splendour notwithstanding, could not revive in that order the bloom of the Muslim culture that appeared in the 9th. 10th, 11th

* ثياب اهل علم in contradistinction to ordinary dress, Ibn Khall., Nr. 373.

† Ibn Khall., Nr. 834, Fasc. xi, p. 38.

‡ Ibn Khall., Fasc. vi, 139. Hakkari wears the soldier's costume with the turban of the jurist. *Cf.* Nr. 274. Robes of honour of Wazirs. Nr. 455 of the Qadhi. It is reported of Ibn Sina that very early he put on the dress of the jurist زى الفقها and specially *Tailasan*, Ibn Khall. Nr. 189. This rare word is etymologically connected with the *Talles* of the Jews which was apparently an anticipation of our academical robes. Even Tumart puts on the academical robes of the jurists. Nr. 799.

§ Zamakhshari's Golden neck-chain, Nr. 43. Compare our University dress.

‖ Meninski, sub '*Tailasan.*'

and even, perhaps, in the 12th century of the Christian era.

Extinguished is the light of culture there, to shine forth again in other countries. Is this to be the eternal fate of human civilization? Is culture always to be the monopoly of a small group of people? Such is the impression which the history of civilization conveys and reinforces. And yet, ever with this impression, we cannot abandon the belief, the pious hope, that permanent and universal are the gifts of the many civilizations that have risen and fallen, bloomed and withered away.*

* Kaufmann's *Gesch. der deutschen Universitaten* may be mentioned here as a mine of valuable information on the subject under discussion. Very instructive is the chapter headed *Stellug des Staats und der Kirche zu der Schulen des Mittelalters*, pp. 106-118. *Denifle's Entstehung der Universitaten* may also be referred to here. Rashdall's *Universities of Europe*, is the most comprehensive book in English that has yet been written. Prof. Macdonald in his *Aspects of Islam* deals in Chapter IX with 'Muslim Ideas on Education,' and Snouck Hurgronje in his *Mekka* (pp. 200-294, Vol. II) gives a luminous account of the Muslim conception of learning. Davidson's *History of Education* deals in Chapter IV with Muslim education. It is interesting reading. Tr.

NOTES.

D'Ohsson (Tableau général de l'empire othomane, t. II. 1788. Small Ed., pp. 464 *et. sk.*) has described the modern schools thus :—

(1) The public elementary schools, *Muktab*. These are open to the children of the poor. They learn there to read and write; they also receive instruction in religion and the Turkish language. Every such school has a number of pupils who are provided with board and lodging by the mosques. The superintendent خواجه never asks anything from the parents, who generally show their appreciation as they can.

(2) Colleges, High Schools, Madrassahs. The madrassahs of the Ottoman Empire unfortunately concern themselves only with Law and Theology, but these studies are conducted with system and method. They are divided into ten branches under the common term of Ilm, *i.e.*, knowledge :—(1) Grammar, *Ilm Sarf*; (2) Syntax, *Ilm Nahw*; (3) Logic, *Ilm Muntiq*; (4)

The following extract from Slane's Intro. to Ibn Khallikan (Eng. tr.) is instructive. (Vol. II.)

"It is much to be regretted, that the information which we possess on the course of study universally followed in Muslim countries is very slight, and that the system of mental culture requisite to form a well-educated

Moral Science, *Ilm Adab*; (5) Rhetoric, *Ilm Ma'ani*; (6) Theology, Dogmatic, *Ilm Kalam*; (7) Philosophy, *Ilm Hikmah*; (8) Law, *Ilm Fiqh*; (9) Commentary on the Qur'an, *Ilm Tafsir*; (10) Traditions of the Prophet.

Every great mosque has its madrassahs; some have two to four. The mosque of Sultan Sulaiman has five; of which one is devoted to the study of Medicine. The mosque of Sultan Mahmud has as many as eight. These madrassahs are always stone buildings with 12 to 30 rooms, everyone of which is occupied by one or more students, according to the number on the list at the time.

The students bear the name of *Sufta*, a corruption of *Sokhta*, which means something 'burnt,' and is applied in a figurative sense to a 'tolerated, suffering being.' They also call them *Muid* or *Murid*, which means a pupil, and *Danishmund*, which means only a student. Instructors who bear the name of *Khajah*, instead of the professors, *Mudarris*, guide the students in their work. The professors, as a rule, shirk their work and show themselves only once or twice a month. In the earlier days the great *Muftis* of Constantinople were wont to go from time to time to the classes held in the mosque of Sultan Bayazid and deliver public lectures there for the benefit of the more advanced *Softas*; for, in the language of Ahmad Effendi, they made it their duty to light up this institution with the torch of their learning and wisdom (p. 470).

The observations which D'Ohsson makes on these oldest schools require some slight correction. He credits the builders of the oldest mosques with the glory of establishing colleges along with these Houses of God. But, as has been stated above, before the establishment of the real madrassahs in the XIth century, this was not the general practice. Even before the XIth century there appear to have been special buildings attached to a considerable number of mosques devoted to instructional purposes; just as, even after the creation of the madrassahs, in a good many cases the mosque itself was used for purposes of teaching. The following are the various places where instruction was imparted:—

(1) The teacher gives instruction at home. بمنزله A case in A.H. 564 (1160) at Isphahan. Hamaker, Specimen Catal., p. 139.

Muslim is a point on which great obscurity still prevails. And yet the importance of obtaining a clear insight into the causes which gave to the character of a great and polished nation its peculiar cast and form cannot but he deeply felt. Were it possible to dissipate the obscurity in which this question is involved, a more exact idea

(2) There are elementary schools, Maktab, for children.

(3) For more advanced students there are institutions called Ribat. These offer only rooms for the audience and the teacher, but the latter receives no special pay. Ibn Khall. Nr. 178. About 1420 there were in Mekka, besides eleven madrassahs, many such Ribat which gave shelter also to poor pilgrims.

(4) Sufis used the cloisters for purposes of lectures without denying themselves the use of other lecture rooms. Ibn Khall. Nr. 670.

(5) Colleges, madrassahs attached to mosques with residential quarters.

(6) For both lower and higher teaching the mosque was the most enduring and universal institution. Often the expression occurs; This and that teacher lectured in this or that corner of the mosque. Many a time it is said that in the same mosque two or more teachers lectured, each in a corner (زاوية) Ibn Khall. Nr. 272. Fasc. VIII, p. 98. اوية الغربية western corner). One such case, related by Ibn Khallikan, occurred in the last days of Shafa'i. When Shafa'i fell mortally ill, one of his distinguished pupils appeared in the mosque to lecture in his place. Another wanted to dispute the honour with him. After a violent quarrel the matter was thus settled. The first lectured under the arch (طاق) where Shafa'i used to lecture, and the other took his seat under the next arch but one. By زاوية we understand the space underneath an arch in a building constructed according to the Byzantine Moorish model.

(الجامع) signifies a mosque proper, including the madrassah. The library was occasionally used for discussion by the learned. (Ibn Khall. Nr. 412.) Thus in the hall of the library at Basra Hariri places the philological contest which constitutes the second Maqamah. And yet the library cannot well be included in the list of places where regular instruction was imparted. (That among beneficent and cultured princes and wazirs there was no lack of learned societies may be inferred from Ibn Khall, Nr. 471. 476.)

The institution of the Caliph Hakim, Dar-ul-Hikmat, was of short duration.

would then be formed of the Muslim mind and Muslim civilisation. In such an investigation the works of Arabic authors might be expected to afford the highest assistance, but unfortunately the documents which they have left on this subject do not enable us to view it in all its bearings. These indications are not, however, without their value; they aid us to understand some parts of the system, and from the parts we may judge of the whole. One of the most curious is that given by Ibn Khaldun in his *Prolegomena*, where he expresses himself thus :

'To teach children the Qur'an is a sign of religion shown by the Muslims in all their cities, and a duty which they universally fulfil; for by this means the faith is firmly planted in the youthful heart, as also a knowledge of the dogmas which are enounced in the verses of that book. The Qur'an is therefore the basis on which are reared the future faculties of the mind; for that which is learned at an early age remains deeply impressed on the memory and serves as a foundation for what follows, and we know that the form of the edifice is determined by the disposition of the foundations.

The different systems followed in teaching children the Qur'an are distinguished by the peculiar faculties developed by each. In Maghrib (Algiers and Morocco), that book is taught without any accompaniment; they begin by making the scholar read it over; then he learns it by heart from the edition of the text received in that country; and he is instructed, at the same time, in its peculiar orthography, the questions to which it gives rise, and the various readings remarked in the systems of those (*ancient masters*) by whom it was trasmitted down.

Till this first step be surmounted, everything else, such as traditions, jurisprudence, poetry, and the idiom of the desert Arabs, is excluded. It therefore happens that a failure in this early stage of the pupil's progress puts an entire stop to his career.

Such is the mode of instruction followed in the cities of Maghrib and in some Berber towns where the example has been adopted; it applies equally to the scholar who has not attained the age of puberty, and to persons more advanced in years who intend to recommence their studies; the result is, that the Maghribins are more intimately acquainted with the orthography of the Qur'an, and know it by heart much better than people of other countries.

In Spain they proceed otherwise; for, whilst they make it a rule to teach the reading of the Qur'an and its orthography as actually used (because they consider that book as the foundation of learning, the groundwork of education, and the basis of religion and the sciences), they instruct their children at the same time in poetry, epistolary writing, the principles of grammar, and the art of penmanship. The acquisition of this last accomplishment occupies scholars till the age of puberty, so that whilst youths obtain a knowledge of grammar and an acquaintance with the works of the poets, they become skilful penmen and persevere, nearly all, in the pursuit of learning. But learning subsists by transmission, and, as its transmission has been interrupted in the provinces of Spain, the students of that country can only acquire such portions of knowledge as are accessible from the first steps of their education. This is however sufficient

for him whom God directs, and it gives him the means of reaching other branches of learning.

In Ifrikiya (*the province of Tunis*), they generally instruct their children in the Traditions whilst teaching them the Qur'an, to which they add the principles of the sciences and some of the questions which they involve; but, as their chief object is, to communicate a correct knowledge of the text and various readings of that book, the art of penmanship is neglected.

In the East instruction is also of a mixed nature, but I do not know to what length it is carried; we have been told however that they pay more attention to the culture of penmanship and of the sciences than to the study of the Qur'an.

The people of Ifrikiya and Maghrib, by confining their application to the Qur'an, can never attain the faculty of mastering the language. The reason of this we shall here explain : No peculiar faculty can be developed in the mind by the study of the Qur'an, because the declaration that it is impossible to produce anything equal to it, prevents it from being taken as a model for imitation; so that the student, though he may acquire an ample share of spiritual merit, can neither obtain a good command of Arabic nor a facility of diction. The people of Ifrikiya are perhaps more advanced in this last respect than those of Maghrib, because, in studying the Qur'an, they learn Traditions and scientific rules; they have therefore a certain command of language, but they do not attain elegance of expression.

The habit of teaching pupils, of repeating poems and epistles, and of studying the rules of grammar is so general in Spain, that the natives of that country have

acquired a complete mastery of the Arabic tongue; but in the other branches of knowledge their skill is inferior; because they have not paid sufficient attention to the Qur'an and the Traditions, which are the source and basis of the sciences. In grammar, however, and polite literature they excel in a greater or less degree, accordingly as they have devoted more or less time to these occupations on terminating the studies which engaged their youth.

The *kadi* Abu Bakr Ibn-al-Arabi* has laid down in his *Rihla*, a highly curious and original plan of study. He proposes that youths should be first instructed in grammar and the works of the poets, conformably to the Spanish custom, 'for,' says he, 'language is enregistered in its poetry,' 'and the corruption of the language renders it necessary that you should commence by that and by grammar; you should then pass to arithmetic, and, having acquired an idea of its rules, you may proceed to the study of the Qur'an, which, by means of these preparatory labours, will be found much easier than it generally is. You may then commence dogmatic theology (*osul-addin*) and the fundamentals of jurisprudence (*osul al-fikh*), after which you may proceed to dialectics (*djedel*), and from that to the Traditions and the sciences connected with them.' He disapproves of teaching two sciences simultaneously, unless the pupil be remarkably intelligent. Such are the counsels of the *kadi*, and I acknowledge that the plan laid down by him is excellent; but settled custom, that influential element in the human character, renders it inadmissible. In taking the Qur'an

* The life of Abu Bakr Ibn al-Arabi will be found in the third volume of this work.

for the basis of education, people are actuated by the desire of meriting the divine favour, as, by this means, they protect youth against its own follies and preserve it from that levity of mind which not only ruins the knowledge already obtained or interrupts its acquisition, but would also prevent the young Muslim from learning the Qur'an. Indeed, whilst under the guardianship of his family, he may be retained in habitual submission, but, when the age of puberty delivers him from control, the storms of passion may soon cast him away on the coast of folly. They therefore take advantage of the time during which he is under command, to teach him the Qur'an, so that, at a later period, he may not be entirely ignorant of its contents. However, were it certain that the student would persevere in the pursuit of knowledge and submit to receive instruction, the system proposed by the *kadi* would be the best which the people of the East and the West could adopt; but God ordains what he pleaseth, and no change can be effected in His decisions.'

To proceed from this first step so well described by Ibn Khaldun and follow the young Muslim in his path through the higher departments of study, we must have recourse to the biographical notices on their learned men. The life of Avicenna offers us a transitory glance at his early education, and therefore merits attention, but much fuller information will be obtained from the autobiography of Abd al-Latif. In this work, he gives us a perfect outline of his own studies under some of the most distinguished masters of the epoch. Were this treatise less known, I should have felt it indispensable to insert an extract from it here, but it has been rendered fully accessible by two editions, one in Arabic and Latin

by Mousley, and the other in Arabic and French by de Sacy; the latter so admirably translated and commented that, were I to undertake a new version of it into English, I feel I should rest far—very far indeed—beneath that illustrious orientalist, my deeply venerated master."

Another contribution to the same stock of documents is furnished by Ibn Khaldun in his autobiography. He informs us that, having learned to read the Qur'an and got it off by heart, he read it again according to each of the seven readings or editions, and then combined these various readings in a final repetition of the text. During this occupation he went over the Qur'an twenty-one times and in a twenty-second repetition, he went over all the various readings. He finished by the lecture of the two editions, or systems of readings, taught by Yakub.* At this period, two other works occupied his attention: the Lamiya, a poem of Ibn Firro-as-Shatibi, on the readings of the Qur'an, and the Raiya, another poem by the same author on the orthography of that book.† He next studied the Takassi, a treatise composed by Ibn Abd al-Barr‡ on the Traditions cited in the Muwatta,§ and a great number of other works, such as the Tashil|| of Ibn Malik and Ibn al-Hadjib's¶ abridgment of jurisprudence, but these last he did not get off by heart.

* He means Yakub Ibn Ishak al-Hadrami, one of the great readers. His life is given by Ibn Khallikan.

† See page 499 of this volume. By the Lamiya, Ibn Khaldun means to designate Ibn Firro's Hirz al-Amani.

‡ In a subsequent volume will be found the life of Ibn Abdel-Barr.

§ See page 549, note 12 of this volume.

|| This is a treatise on grammar by Ibn Malik, the author of the Alfiya, who died A.H. 672 (A.D. 1273-4). See M. de Sacy's Anthologie Grammatical, pages 203, 215 and Fluegel's Hajji Khalifa, tom. II, page 290.

¶ See page 193 of this volume.

During the same period he cultivated the art of grammar under the tuition of his father and of the first masters. He perused also the Six Poets,* the Hamasa, the poems of Abu Tammam,† part of al-Mutanabbi's‡ poetical works, and some of the pieces preserved in the Kitab al-Aghani.§ Under Shams ed din al-Kisai, chief traditionist of Tunis, he perused Muslim's collection of Traditions and received a general licence (ijaza). In law he studies the abridgment of the Mudawwana‖ composed by Abu Said al-Baradai, and the exposition of the doctrines held by the sect of Malik. He followed, besides, a general course of law and learned Malik's Muwatta; certificates were also obtained by him authorizing him to teach that book, the Sirat ar-Rasul,¶ the treatise of Ibn Salah on the Traditions, and many other works. He obtained access to the library of Abd-al-Muhaimin al-Hadrami, chief traditionist and grammarian of Morocco, who had accompanied to the city of Tunis Abu'l-Hasan, the sovereign of that empire, in the quality of Secretary of State. This collection of books consisted of more than three thousand volumes on the Traditions, law, grammar, philology, the intellectual sciences, general literature, and poetry; these manuscripts were all of the highest correctness and their authenticity was guaranteed by certificates annexed to them. Under another master he studied logic, dogmatic theology,

* The six poets are Amro'l-Kais, Nabigha, Alkama, Zohair, Tarafa, and Antara. See page 10 of my preface to the Diwan d'Amro'l-Kais.

† See Vol. I, page 348.

‡ See Vol. I, page 102.

§ See Vol. II, page 249.

‖ See Vol. II, page 86.

¶ See Vol. II, page 128.

jurisprudence, and all the intellectual and philosophical sciences. Whilst pursuing his studies, he followed the public lectures at Tunis, and attended the assemblies held by the first doctors and professors of the place. He finally devoted three years to study under a shaikh called Abu Abd Allah al-Abbali, "and then," says he, "I felt that I knew something." Ibn Khaldun terminated his studies in the twentieth or twenty-first year of his age.*

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* This notice was just terminated, when a large manuscript, containing the biography of the doctor and historian Ahmed Ibn Ali Ibn Hajar al-Askalani, by the hafiz Shams ad-din Muhammad as-Sakhawi, fell into the writer's hands. A chapter of this work is devoted to the history of Ibn Hajar's youth, travels, studies, etc.; but it is drawn up in such a manner that to make an analysis of it would be a very difficult task. We find however that he began by learning the Koran by heart, and proceeded to the study of the Traditions and Jurisprudence; following, in fact, the same system which has been already indicated in the introduction to our first volume.

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